University of Alberta

Emancipatory Adult Education and Social Movement Theory

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Emancipatory Adult Education and Social Movement Theory submitted by Gregory William Anthony Brandenbarg in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

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DEDICATION

Thank you Valerie for caring for me and our beautiful children during all my research and writing. Your unfailing love and support have allowed me to better appreciate the importance of caring for one another - a central value throughout my thesis. I dedicate it to you.

Thank you Dr. Toh Swee-Hin, Dr. Raj Pannu and Dr. Paulu Saram who, over many years, in your daily life and work, have modeled the central values in this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Teaching adults to transform the world is an ambitious agenda. This study explores the historical and theoretical relationship between social movements, social change and emancipatory adult education. The methodology chosen was a textual analysis of social movement theory, social change theory and radical adult education theory and history.

The key issue explored in this study is the reflexive role between emancipatory adult education and emancipatory social movements.

The conclusions of the study include the realization that existing social movement and adult education theorizing is inadequate to understand how adults learn to transform society. Closer study of emancipatory adult education praxis at the site of social movements, utilizing recent social movement theory, will strengthen emancipatory adult education theorizing. More collaboration between emancipatory adult educators and theorists and their counterparts in social movement work and research, must happen if adults are to succeed in learning to transform an increasingly globalized society.

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CHAPTER 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

Overview and Purposes of the Study

As an adult educator of 20 years, most of my educational efforts have been committed to promoting social and biblical justice from a critical, albeit orthodox Christian perspective. Since 1990, the landscape and challenges of adult education for social transformation appear to have, yet again, changed considerably. Initial post-Berlin Wall hope has seemingly collapsed into a vaguely familiar pandemic sense of despair. The 'pessimism of the intellect' appears to be seeping rapidly into the 'optimism of the will'.

Whether neoconservatism, neoliberalism, globalization, balkanization or Mulroney is chiefly to blame is the indispensable work of continuing critical social analyses. What to do about a society in need of social transformation? however, has traditionally, although arguably, been the domain of social movements.

The present study like much inquiry originated with a "simple question": What adult education (AE) practices do social movements employ to succeed in promoting a more just and democratic social order? Subsequent questions arise: Who are the key actors engaged in AE and social action? What are the key roles and processes of government, business, groups and organizations? and; What role do nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have in providing AE for social transformation?

Evaluative questions also arise: What AE paradigms, pedagogies and methodologies are used by social movements to succeed? What are the more effective AE practices that emancipatory social movements use to successfully transform society? Most of these questions originate from a normative perspective about the importance of justice, democracy and equitable relations in society. Embedded in all of these questions are many assumptions about the relationship between social movements, AE and social transformation.

An initial literature review revealed several significant and related problems. First, not only is there a lack of sophistication in traditional AE theory and research, to understand the theoretical relationship, role and practice of AE in social movements; there is also a lack of sophisticated conceptual development in social movement theory. It has not yet clearly explained the role and processes of social movements in transforming society. Thus, it is difficult to find the appropriate analytical concepts to address even basic questions about the relationship between AE, social transformation and social movement. Second, virtually absent within even the critical branches of AE and social movement theory is an understanding of, and framework to study, AE's transformational practice and role in social movements. It appears that much more money is available for studies in adult vocational and technical training or 'learning for earning', than in 'learning for social change'.

Two expressed purposes of the study are to a) understand the relationship between emancipatory AE and social movements in social

transformation and b) to identify analytical categories within social movement theory appropriate to improve the study and understanding of emancipatory AE. Another goal is to provide insight into the difficulties of theorizing about the relationship between social movement, social transformation and transformative AE processes. A basic assumption persisting throughout the study is that social movements are one of the best sites, if not the best site, to study significant social transformation processes in general and AE social transformation processes in particular.

The study reviews literature concerned with the historic development and theoretical role of social movement as well as AE practice in social transformation. It was necessary to review not only social movement theory in depth but also some basic concepts in social change and AE theory. Through a textual analysis of literature predominantly from European, Latin American and anglophone North American authors, the study surveys Marxist, Functionalist, Strategy and Identity social movement theories. Even a brief analysis of the relationship between emancipatory social movements and emancipatory AE gives strong evidence that they have a reflexive and collaborative role transforming society. Their symbiotic relationship merits further investigation.

A review of more recent critical AE literature reveals a modest but growing debate among AE theorists discuss the promise and problems of better understanding emancipatory AE using new social movement (NSM) theory. The debate, in accordance with other literature, is persuasive that the sites of social

movements are primary locations to study "revolutionary adult learning". Finally, collaborative theories including the cognitive praxis social movement theory are examined for their potential in providing an analytical framework to advance the study of emancipatory AE.

Big Theoretical Gaps

The relevance of this theoretical and exploratory study is fourfold. First, while there is a plethora of critical *analyses* explaining how and why capital has managed to fare so well for so long and so extensively, critical theory and critical pedagogy theorists have not provided an *analytical framework* to systematically and empirically research how critical AE is challenging capital. This study fills that gap by identifying some of the key concepts and analytical categories for a theoretical framework to research emancipatory AE efforts to transform society. Second, even though there is considerable rhetoric among critical adult educationalists concerning the crucial importance of social movement, the relationship has never clearly been understood. The study clarifies key aspects of that relationship. Third, it has never been understood from a theoretical basis how the study of one can advance the other. It will be shown how studying emancipatory AE can increase our understanding of social movement and vice versa. A first step is simply researching emancipatory AE at the sites of social movements. Finally, the study pushes, yet again, AE to its radical, critical, and transformative edges to re-ignite its fire and assume its emancipatory role.

Definition of Concepts and Terms

A. Social Change and Social Movements

In history, many actors, agencies and forces mediate social change although the focus of this study will be social movements and AE. Social change is an ambiguous term. It can refer to "positive change", introducing something which is not there such as a new political regime, and it can refer to "negative change," which stops, prevents or reverses some element(s) in the existing social order. Negative change is not necessarily pejorative - unless of course interpreted as such from the perspective of the subject who stands to lose from the usual course of things being altered. Movement adherents and adult educators like most people however, usually speak of negative change in a pejorative sense. Movement leaders often see negative change resulting "either from processes unrelated to social movements [such as the deterioration of the natural environment, decline of fertility rates, growth of crime], or from the activities of other competing movements" [as seen in the pro-life/pro-choice debate].[1] Thus, social change discourse can use unclear, neutral terms of fluctuation(s) in, or alteration(s) of, the existing social order.

People who believe the present existing social conditions are unjust and unacceptable and will plan and act to improve those conditions (from their perspective), often qualify the term 'social change' or intentionally give preference to the term 'social transformation'. They are usually opposed to social reproduction of the dominant culture. Central to their conception of social

transformation typically lie values such as justice, peace, and authentic democracy. Carl Boggs clearly expresses some of these values in his description of certain contemporary social movements:

> [They] are thus hardly marginal expressions of protest but are situated within the unfolding contradictions of a rapidly changing industrial order, as part of the historic attempts to secure genuine democracy, social equality, and peaceful international relations against the imperatives of exploitation and domination.[2]

Positive social transformation implies activity that most commonly introduces a more just, liberating and democratic alternative to transform the unacceptable social order. The majority of social movements are said to have a positive "vector" which attempt to transform society by introducing alternative action.

There are however many movements mobilizing to prevent harmful progress or change i.e. those with a negative "vector". They occupy themselves with such issues as "defending native cultures, fighting globalization, reviving ethnic or national particularisms, asserting fundamentalist creeds" as well as reversing ecological destruction and natural resource depletion.[3]

When social transformation speaks of interrupting, if not reversing, the cycle of unjust and oppressive social order, it is being defined in negative terms,. More specifically, negative social action interrupts or impedes the present pace and direction of social reproduction. The definition of a social movement by Foss and Larkin from their work *Beyond Revolution: A New Theory of Social Movements* employs this negative terminology of social change:

> A social movement is the developing collective action of a significant portion of the members of a major social category, involving at some point the use of physical force or violence

> against members of other social categories, their possessions, or their institutionalized instrumentalities, and *interfering* at least temporarily - whether by design or by unintended consequence - *with the political and cultural reproduction of society.*[4]

Because people in these transformative movements have had to question and critique the present social order, and find it partly or wholly unworkable from a value perspective, they are also considered to have a "critical" notion of social transformation. They examine social relations from a conflict theory approach and as a result promote action and education to transform the social order. This critical notion finds it analogue in such disciplines as critical pedagogy and political economy. Movements conscious of their role to effect positive or negative social transformation are sometimes referred to as critical social movements. Walker offers the following definition of critical social movements, mostly in reference to how they function through collaboration:

> [They] are distinguishable in part by their capacity to recognize and act creatively upon connections among structures, processes, and peoples that do not enter significantly into the calculations of conventional political actors or that are denied by movements of a more reactionary character. Recognizing connections, critical social movements are able to engage not only in struggles around specific problems but also in struggles that recognize the emancipatory potential... On this basis, people have been able to articulate new understandings of what it means to work for a world free from excesses of violence, poverty, and repression, despite the injustices of the present.[5]

Because a movement approaches the existing social order from a critical perspective, finds it wanting and seeks to alleviate the undesired order and create more equitable relations, it can also be called emancipatory. Whether their efforts are 'positive' or 'negative', they are emancipatory. The focus of this

study will be on social change that is transformative and emancipatory. Cunningham et al would maintain that there are many 'emancipatory' social movements in Canada:

> There is no dearth of social movements in Canada from which to draw lessons [concerning social transformation]. We consulted the 1987 *Connexions Directory of Canadian Organizations for Social Justice* to get a notion of the scope of this relatively unrecognized dimension of the Canadian political system. It lists 1,335 organizations that "are not content to leave the major decisions of society in the hands of others." The list is offered as "proof that all across Canada there are people...who refuse to accept the inevitability of injustice, violence and alienation...groups that are actively involved in the struggle for a better society ...[working] to foster justice, peace and a sense of community."[6]

They go on to account for 1,335 NGOs, "branch offices all over Canada", working in 13 different areas of social change, "social movement industries" as Zald and McCarthy would say, including; peace (22.3 percent), human rights (10.2 per cent), international development and solidarity (8.3 per cent), gay and lesbian (7 per cent), environment (7 per cent), the economy, poverty, and work (6.8 per cent), education (6.6 per cent), social justice for Native people (6.4 per cent), gender equality (6.3 per cent), health (4.4 per cent), arts, media and culture (3.7 per cent), urban issues (0.7 per cent), and finally, "about 145 (10.7 per cent) of the organizations listed provide information and supporting resources for these social movements".[7]

B. Social Movement

Defining a social movement is more complex than defining social change. Alain Touraine, the undisputed high priest of new social movement (NSM) theory, articulates why it is such a challenge:

> [M]ost of all, the empiricist illusion must be clearly rejected: It is impossible to define an object of study called 'social movements' without first selecting a general mode of analysis of social life on the basis of which a category of facts called social movements can be constituted.[8]

As Escobar and Alvarez have said: "the definition of what counts as social movement involves a complex epistemological process. It is therefore not surprising that few scholars have actually ventured a definition..."[9] The greater part of social movement theorizing has grappled with trying to arrive at the most defensible 'general mode of analysis of social life'. Thus ensues the great debate within and between NSM theory and resource mobilization theory. A review of these central "general modes of analysis of social life', as well as the transformative, critical and emancipatory aspects of social movement theory, preoccupies a significant portion of the study.

C. Adult Education

While social movement theory rarely makes mention of how education effects social movements (or vice versa), it is clear education plays various roles in social movements. Education can be a determinant in mobilizing people to participate in social movements and conversely, it can be a key strategy in helping social movements strengthen their membership or promote collective

action. The promotion of education's role in society sometimes become social movements in themselves as has been seen in the education movement which began in 1920 with John Dewey.

However, even after a relatively long and radicalized history of involvement in social change and social movement, AE's role in social change and social movement is poorly understood and persists as a vague term. Carlos A. Torres suggests the opposing perspectives and wide range of aims and goals, attributed to AE continue to create a 'feeling of elusiveness about this field of study', including the conflict over terminology. AE is related to non-formal education, vocational education, distance education, open education, continuing education, lifelong education, extraschooling education, recurrent education, community education and popular education to name a few.[10] Many UNESCO definitions of AE, such as the following one, accommodates all of these:

> [Adult education] denotes the entire body of educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong, develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications of turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development.[11]

Such broad definitions however serve very little purpose.

Other definitions try to emphasize some of AE's major characteristics. The Commission on Adult Education (1984) hints at its social purposes and distinguishes the formal from the non-formal aspect:

> Adult education includes all systematic learning by adults which contributes to their development as individuals and as members of the community and of society apart from full-time instruction received by persons as part of the uninterrupted initial education and training. It may be formal education which takes place in institutions e.g. training centres, schools, colleges, institutes and universities; or non-formal education which is any other systematic form of learning, including self-directed learning.[12]

Given the many variables within AE such as range of subject matter, learner and educator characteristics, pedagogical methodology, nature of sponsoring agency, particular aims and goals, and degree of structure, one can appreciate the many incarnations it can take. Bock and Papagiannis suggest that when studying AE it is important to determine:

> [W]ho is sponsoring a given program, including government sponsorship (in this case it is important to assess its degree of commitment to social change) and nongovernmental sponsorship (in this case we need to identify what degree of congruence to government ideology the NGOs have); the organization and administration of the programs (i.e., whether they are top-down, bottom-up, or a combination); the pedagogical approach involved ([be it] pragmatic, ideological, didactic, or participatory); the main assumptions about development; and the degree of integration with other social institutions.[13]

For the purposes of this study, several of the most pertinent concepts and aspects of AE need to be identified.

Possibly the simplest and broadest division of AE is found between conservative and radical AE. The very concept of radical AE assumes there is a

"normal" or conservative form of AE from which it can be contrasted. Since conservative or normal AE is the most common AE in most societies i.e. it is "represented by the practice of the vast majority of adult educators", it is easy to identify. Brendan Evans gives the following apt description of, and motivation behind, conservative AE:

> [T]eachers of commercial subjects in technical colleges, instructors in recreational skills...in evening institutes, and tutors in arts subjects in extra-mural departments are not motivated by critical or radical concepts of education and society. Such adult tutors do not consider the social character of their activity and pose no challenge to the status quo. Their concern is with the transmission of skills and not the structure of society.[14]

The vast majority of AE is for personal development or technical and/or vocational training and is thus considered conservative AE. Cunningham states the context for AE in North America is conservative: "[c]ontemporary North American adult education practice is for the most part aligned to the concept of learning for earning. That is to say, the engine that drives the adult education train is efficient and effective production".[15]

Many AE theorists contend that common or conservative AE is a derivative of consensual or functionalist theories. While most adult educators probably do not "consciously subscribe" to a specific meta-theory that will guide them in all their work, J. E. Thomas observes that most assume that "the interests of society are... compatible with the interests of the individual ". For them, "[AE] is not a facility for promoting the social policies of a particular group, but a means of transmitting the inherited knowledge and culture of the whole

society".[16] Within the conservative element of AE there is a full spectrum of perspectives from "pure educational conservatism", defined as "gentlemanly, non-utilitarian, and largely ornamental", to fully sophisticated neo-liberal or neo-conservative models.[17] Some of these elaborate models are integrated within the ideology and policies of particular nation-states and international bodies. It is not the purpose of this study to further examine any shade of conservative AE.

On the other side of those "engaged in reproductive practices" are the radical adult educators. Evans states that while the majority of adult educators are so inclined to "divorce education from social purposes", it is the radical minority, which allegedly comprise the majority of AE theorists, who in many ways are responsible for creating much of the debate around AE.[18] The major purpose of most radical AE is to transform society. As Alex Sims, a patriarch of Canadian Adult Education, said in his public challenge to Ontario's Canadian Association for Adult Education conference dedicated to the future of adult education in Canada: "The world is on fire. If adult education isn't on fire, what is it?".

Radical AE includes both reformist and revolutionary approaches to education and society. Radical educators can approach their goal from numerous ideological perspectives such as Marxist, communitarian, democratic socialist, libertarian, and social reform. Advocates of critical pedagogy such as Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, Michael Apple, Bowles and Gintis all promote

different shades of radical AE. Compared to consensual theories which drive conservative AE, radical AE is typically based upon conflict theory.

While one might assume that the term radical AE refers to the singular purpose of transforming society, it is important to note that some radical AE is more bent on changing the education system than society. Within AE, both "political radicals" and "educational radicals" would agree that education is about change but educational radicals may be defined as such simply because they think AE is as important or more important than education for children or young people. In society and the traditional world of education, Evans describes how it is that an adult educator can be an education radical:

> Adult education has tended to attract radicals since its inception. In a society with a front-end model of education, those who urge the expansion of adult and continuing education are distinct from mainstream educationalists. Adult educators who campaign for a redistribution of resources from initial to post-initial education, therefore, are unambiguously radical.[19]

A great deal of radical education that is formal and for youth and children. However, most of the study focuses around radical non-formal AE.

D. Emancipatory Adult Education

In terms of the type of radical AE that focuses on transforming society, it should be stressed that while there are several different terms that denote this type of radical AE such as transformative AE, global education, peace and values education, development education, justice education, popular education and AE for a just and democratic social order, the term "emancipatory AE" will be used in this study (Hart, 1990; Heaney, 1992; Mezirow, 1987).

The distinguishing feature of the term 'emancipatory AE' is that not only does it refer to the type of change and transformation it seeks, but it also refers to its pejorative departure point i.e. oppressive relations. Emancipatory AE then, usually aims to promote welcome and liberating change for some person, people or group(s) in society in the vicinity of oppressive relations - including those in the physical environment. Of course this perspective will not necessarily be shared by all of society. In fact, because most AE is socially reproductive in nature and intent, emancipatory AE is often "counter-culture". It is education which not only assists adults to liberate aspects of themselves and their society from the present dominant culture, it also reaches towards a more just, compassionate and equitable democratic social order.

Within emancipatory and transformative AE lie important common values at the heart of its goals. Justice, peace, democracy, compassion, spirituality, dialogue, respect and dignity form its core values. A good and representative inventory is Toh and Floresca-Cawagas' stated six key values: justice, sharing (of one world), compassion, dialogue, caring for life/hope, spirituality which address the issues of personal peace, structural violence, human rights, cultural solidarity, militarization, and environmental care.[20]

A significant amount of emancipatory AE is in some way linked to the activity of social movements. Several have called emancipatory AE itself a form of social action' by which the transformation of individual lives leads to their activity in transforming oppressive policies and structures in society. In Latin

America, the very term 'popular education' is defined as such because it is directly tied to popular or social movements:

> While adult education is, by and large, compensatory education, popular education attempts to be a radical departure that originates in the popular classes and may be designed to alter the social order...According to Rodriguez Brandao, popular education in the 1960s did not pretend to be an advanced form of adult education but a pedagogical movement that rested on the negation of mainstream adult education and the educational system that generates banking learning... The distinctive characteristic about popular education today is that it is tied to popular movements.[21]

Popular education in Latin America, which is often seen as an ideal-type of emancipatory AE, can be characterized in three ways: it proposes "a new renewing theory of the relationship between human beings-society-culture-education and pedagogy"; it takes "place primarily among the adults of popular classes and becomes defined as political action for popular liberation" and finally; it seeks "to transcend mere ad hoc activities like literacy campaigns or adult basic education".[22]

While there is formal and institution-bound emancipatory AE, almost all the emancipatory AE referred to in this study is non-formal unless stated otherwise. Adult education in social movements is more typically found outside of classrooms but not always. When emancipatory AE happens in formal education settings and formal institutions for that matter, it is usually considered subversive.

Delimitation of the Study

As the present study is a textual analysis of the history of social movement theory and AE theory, delimiting the study is primarily a task of identifying the most useful working definitions within the respective fields of theory. While there is no universal definition and type of social movement or AE, the present study will primarily concern itself with their transformative, critical and emancipatory qualities.

Methodology

The methodology used for this research comprised of an examination, analysis, explanation and discussion of written materials related to social change, social movements, AE and political economy. An extensive library search, both inside and outside post-secondary institutions, was conducted to identify books, published and unpublished articles and nongovernmental reports related to the study.

The study employed a textual analysis of the history of social movement and AE theory, as well as a survey of social change theory and AE history. As European and North American theorists dominate the discourse in Anglo-Saxon social movement theory publishing, most of the text is definitely Western in nature. Latin American social movement theorists however, long eminent in publishing in Spanish, have in the last ten years contributed major works to the discussion and given significant direction to the study. Their work along with the work of more obscure Southern contributions demand further investigation than

offered in this study. More investigation should also be directed towards evaluative research of AE's role in social movement and social transformation as touched on by some of the resource mobilization theory studies.

Organization of the Thesis

There are six chapters in the thesis. The first consists of an overview of the research. The second chapter offers a brief survey of the Western origins of social movement research beginning with earlier ideological work up to and including the earlier Marxist theories and functionalist theories which are criticized for their unique and their shared deficiencies. Chapter three analyses the new social movement theory literature that has proliferated in correspondence with the surge of post-1960s movements whose "new" aims, politics and strategies are analyzed and critiqued. In the fourth chapter a review and critique of the resource mobilization theory dominant in North America is provided in the context of a discussion around the reflexive processes of social transformation, education and social movements. The fifth chapter discusses AE and social movements' shared goal of transformation and reviews a social movement analytical framework for studying AE. Chapter six draws out the key questions that urgently need to be studied about AE's collaborative role, its transformative role at the site of social movement organizations as well as using a social movement theoretical framework.

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[1] Sztompka, 1993: p. 277
[2] Boggs, 1986: p. 3. Movement values may be clearly articulated within their literature, communications, mission statements, goals, objectives and bylaws.
[3] Sztompka, 1993: p. 283
[4] Foss and Larkin, 1986: p. 2 (Italics mine)
[5] Walker, 1988: p. 3

[6] Cunningham et al, 1988: p. 16
[7] Ibid. pp. 16-7
[8] Touraine, 1988: p. 63
[9] Escobar and Alvarez (eds.), 1992: p. 6
[10] Torres, 1987: p. 3
[11] UNESCO: Recommendation of the Development of Adult Education, General Conference of UNESCO, 19th session, Nairobi, 26 November, 1976 as quoted in Torres, 1987: p. 4
[12] Commission on Adult Education, 1984. Lifelong Learning (Kenny Report). Dublin: The Stationary Office as quoted by Dennis O'Sullivan, 1989: p. 21
[13] Bock and Papagiannis as quoted in Torres, 1990: p. 20
[14] Evans, 1987: p. 5
[15] Cunningham, 1992: p. 180
[16] Thomas, E. J. Radical Adult Education: Theory and Practice, University of Nottingham, 1982 as quoted in Evans, 1987: p. 5
[17] Ibid.
[18] Evans, 1987: p. 6
[19] Ibid. p. 7
[20] Toh and Floresca-Cawagas, 1990: pp. vii - xi
[21] Torres, 1990: p. 20
[22] Ibid. p. 21

CHAPTER 2

ROOTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY: MARXISM AND FUNCTIONALISM

Introduction

> [In] an era sometimes characterized by the notion of 'cyclical reason', or 'the end of social criticism', and in which the precepts of neoliberalism and possessive individualism have tended to become more hegemonic, the widespread occurrence of movements of protest, often coming to life outside the realm of established institutional practices, has engendered a sense of hope, and held open, no matter how tenuously, the possibility of another horizon. Optimism of the will has been given a new dynamic.
>
> David Slater in *Structures of Power, Movements of Resistance*

Over the course of history, students, women, gays and lesbians, environmentalists, religious adherents, city dwellers, landless peasants the world over have risen from their own communities and places to contest the powers at hand. The state, most usually "the contested", has in most cases not encouraged this type of participation but ironically it has often unwittingly given the invitation. By not meeting the material and/or 'post-material' needs of its constituents, and/or by not respecting the rights and interests of certain civilian sectors, whether because it was not willing or unable, the state loses a great deal of its legitimacy and credibility.

Commenting on the surge of activity and effectiveness of the popular movement in Mexico surrounding the 1988 elections, one theorist optimistically stated "popular movements might be the wedge that will force an authentically democratic opening within the political system overall."[1] Around the world, social

movements are impacting their societies to be sure, but it is difficult to measure how much of a 'democratic opening' they are forcing.

In this first chapter we will begin with a brief historical investigation of the ideological sources of social movement theory as found in Rousseau and Marx. The discussion will then focus on how Marxist-based and functionalist social movement theories have evolved from 1850 to 1968. Finally, a very brief discussion describing the basic approaches of these two theories towards social movements will proceed a more detailed discussion comparing and critiquing their theoretical limitations in sufficiently explaining social movement phenomena.

From the French Revolution to Flower Power

> Revolt is first of all the acknowledgment of an impossible situation.
> Albert Memmi

> [T]here was a little movement in Narbonne on the occasion of the collection of the *cosse* tax, which had been ordered by an act of the royal council. Many women gathered with the common people, and threw stones at the tax collectors, but the Consuls and the leading citizens hurried over and put a stop to the disorder.
> Narbonne, France. August 1, 1682.[2]

While the French royal council had long established the legal right to impose a 2.5 per cent tax on all imported grain at the toll booths of the city gates, the recent Wars of Religion had interrupted any actual collection. In dire need of offsetting the war deficit, the royal council reissued the order in 1682 to the royal property agents to start collecting again. Fearful of escalating food costs and souring regional trade relations, the municipal Consuls protested the

tax through a rather polite, subdued and ultimately, ineffective manner. It was left to the women of the city to organize "a little movement" who gathered to stone the tax collectors. Forced to disband and failing to stop the grain tax on August 1, 1682, it would take nine more years of contestation to finally convince the local royal property agent that the equivalent of the *cosse* tax could be transferred from another budget item from the very Estates of the royal property agent.[3]

They are all here. Each of the historical players in the arena of social change is represented in the Narbonne uprising. A disorganized rural sector, an outspoken urban citizenry, state elites, state functionaries, importers and exporters - the select few with significant power, a few more with some power and the many with very little or no (perceived) power. The plot should also prove familiar. A deficit-ridden government desperately seeking legitimacy, imposes an undesired tax through compromised local authorities on an already impoverished and frustrated public. The more adversely affected segments of society bypass most of the ineffectual established channels and organize to act collectively in order to best communicate their dissatisfaction and needs - this time with stones.

The disturbance created by the Narbonne women and company in 1682 protesting the grain tax was not the first nor the last demonstration of collective action in rural France. The best, or worst, was yet to come later in urban France with the revolutions of 1789 and 1848 as well as the Paris Commune uprising of 1871. Dissatisfied people, marginalized people, concerned people have been

organizing for collective action for millennia. As Sztompka has written regarding social change, "[m]ost probably, social movements are historically universal phenomena. People in all human societies must have had reasons to combine and fight for their collective goals and against those who stood in the way of attaining them."[4] The study of people's collective action and related phenomena however is a more recent practice. The study of revolution, social movements and various forms of collective action is about two hundred years old - the ideological sources of social movements however are somewhat older.

Sources of Movement

> The shock of 1914 - when workers marched off patriotically to the trenches, ending the dream of proletarian internationalism - was a turning point... Connected was the problem that their organizations, unions in particular, were more interested in survival in capitalism than in radical social transformation... The deeper lesson was that early socialist projections about the development of capitalist societies had proven inaccurate. Capitalism remained a harsh system, but it had turned out much more durable and complex than nineteenth-century theorists had anticipated.[5]

In his work *Social Movement*, Wilkinson makes a distinction between practitioners, social scientists and ideologists of social movements. None are mutually exclusive. The terms 'practitioner' and 'social scientist' are self-explanatory and by 'ideologist' he means:

> [A]ny individual whose major work and concern has been the formulation, elaboration and advocacy of normative or prescriptive theories or ideologies of society, [that] may provide a source of ideological thinking and direction for a social movement, or for many social movements.[6]

Historically, as Roberts and Kloss suggest, there have been numerous 'ideologists' of social movements including:

> Henri Saint-Simon who dealt with socialism before Marx; Gustav LeBon who made the classic statements on the nature of crowds in terms of collective behaviour; Thorstein Veblen on labour movements; Georg Sorel on violence in politics, Robert Michels on democratic movements; Max Weber on religious movements; Alexis de Tocqueville on the French Revolution; and V. I. Lenin on the necessity of organization in a movement.[7]

Occasionally, a body of ideology becomes so influential and widespread that its ideas find their way into the general current of thought, affecting people unwittingly. Sometimes, when substantially pervasive, they are 'assimilated under *historical* movements, trends and or tendencies' - they have been called grand theories or meta-theories. For Wilkinson and other social scientists and historians of social movements, Karl Marx and J. J. Rousseau are two ideologists of that import: "[i]t could be reasonably claimed that the two most influential secular ideologists of the past two hundred years are Rousseau and Marx: both have provided the richest source of constitutive values, concepts and beliefs for the whole range of contemporary socio-political movements."[8] Arguably, Marx has provided a grand-theory for numerous disciplines. After a brief look at Rousseau's project, we will focus on Marx's contribution towards both understanding and inspiring social movements.

The Revolution of Rousseau

In *Contrat Social* more than in *Discours sur l'Inegalite,* Rousseau asserts the right of all men to organize in their collective interest and rebel against tyranny

stating: "it must, then, be admitted that Might does not create Right, and that no man is under an obligation to obey any but the legitimate powers of the state."[9] He also proposes that the only legitimate authority in human society must be based on the people's consent: "[s]ince no man has natural authority over his fellows, and since Might can produce no Right, the only foundation left for legitimate authority in human societies is Agreement."[10] Rousseau envisioned that once the revolutionary movement-regime was established then the legislator, who was to be the revolutionary guide, would indoctrinate the people with correct revolutionary principles and promote the creation of a revolutionary kind of man, and finally a new millennium would begin.

Despite contradictions with other writings of Rousseau especially in the area of natural freedom, the two fundamental propositions of the right of revolution and the legitimate supremacy of the popular will, have remained the popular vocabulary of most Western secular reformers and revolutionaries in the last two hundred years. So widely has Rousseau's image of archetypal revolution permeated the ideologies of the late eighteenth century, and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, states Wilkinson, "that it has almost the character of self-fulfilling prophecy."[11]

Marx's Movement

Allegedly because of its "essentially popular, readable, revolutionary popular text", it was *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) more than *Das Kapital* written in 1867, which inspired the industrial working classes of Western Europe

and backward Russia into organizing movements that changed history.[12] Marx's meta-theory of social and economic development, called 'the historical movement' proceeded with a series of organic evolutionary stages. Borrowing from Hegelian philosophy, the dialectical pattern of: "response-reaction-response takes the form of thesis, (movement e.g. capital accumulation), antithesis (counter-movement e.g. revolutionary movement of the proletariat), synthesis (fusion of thesis and antithesis e.g. birth of the new classless Communist society)."[13]

Concerning Marx's contribution to the description, purpose and character of movements, Roberts and Kloss assert:

> Marx saw the final movement or class action as one generating out of the final clash between the forces of one class against another - in his day the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.... The movement is historically necessary, and the revolutionary lifestyle of the worker is inevitable as the ruling class tries to keep control over the production after its historical time is up. Under this explanation, all other movements become subordinate; that is, if they seemingly relate to other issues, such as race, ecology, sex, and so forth, this is false consciousness or wrong theory and action.[14]

They also suggest that Marx's theoretical bias towards movements is clear:

> (1) classes are the carriers of movements; (2) class action is above fundamental economic processes and the things that flow from those processes; (3) movements must be analyzed in historical terms rather than idealist terms; and (4) the dialectical method is the correct method for looking at the socioeconomic processes of the world.[15]

Wilkinson asserts that the movements of Marx's time however were more interested in theoretical applications than theory itself:

> The dramatic impact of Marx's theory upon socialist movements of his time and thence forward was not the result of any widespread

> philosophical interest in, or acceptance of, the grandiose pretensions of dialectical historical materialism. What Marx's contemporaries and a multitude of disciples seized upon so avidly was rather the specific application of Marx's theory of historical movement to the phase of bourgeois capitalism which Marx and Engels characterized in terms of nineteenth-century Britain and Germany. What Marx and Engels appeared to offer to those men caught up in the surging tide of industrialization was an attractively simple explanation of past, present and future of the their own society.[16]

Movements adhering strictly to Marxist theory often ran into disagreements interpreting the dialectic of the historical movement i.e. who was to say that the conditions were ripe for revolutionary conflict? and disagreements about the apparently expendable role of the individuals contribution in dialectical materialism. Revolutionary 'practitioners' such as Lenin and Mao-Tse-Tung resolved these contradictions in practical terms but continued emphasizing the apocalyptic and millenarian dimensions in Marxist thought to inspire their revolutions. Avineri points out the revolutionary problematic succinctly:

> The implications of Marx's theory called for a proletarian movement. But the intellectual achievements of Marx's philosophy cannot provide without modifications an ideological basis for a political movement possessing organizational continuity and experiencing the normal ups and downs of political life. The vulgarization of Marx's theory thus becomes a necessary component in the makeup of Marxist historical movements.[17]

Boswell and Dixon suggest two distinct research agendas have evolved out of the commonly stated failure of Marx's social theory in predicting that proletarian revolt would occur in the most industrialized countries. Issues of working-class divisions, false consciousness, or class compromise with democratic states, are common in the literature addressing the first agenda that

looks at proletarians and asks: why do they not rebel?[18] The other literature analyzes revolutions and asks why they occur in the South (Third World). Here the research "focuses on peasant revolts against disruptions of the moral economy caused by world capitalist development."[19]

Marx and Rebellion

Many critics of Marx's theory (including Marxists) focus on Marx's failure to predict where rebellions will occur. However, Boswell and Dixon state these critics overlook the fact that "*exploitation* is the fundamental source of class struggle and rebellion in Marx's theory" and *not* economic development.[20] By class exploitation, Marx meant the expropriation of surplus (net) value from its producers.[21] Boswell and Dixon point out that to Marx, "industrial development leads to rebellion only to the extent that it increases the size of and the exploitation of the working class."[22] Because Marx never defined 'exploitation in a manner analytically distinct from development that would permit empirical inquiry', they suggest he is partly to blame for the confusion.

Marx and Engels wrote extensively on rebellion and revolution and reveal nuances of a theory of rebellion in their historical essays about the revolt of 1848 and the Paris Commune. While the *Manifesto* is the most theoretically explicit work, it is in *Das Kapital* that several authors feel is perhaps the best summary of Marx's theory of rebellion:

> Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and

> disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.[23]

Marx does not explain when rebellion (extensive violent actions against the state) will result in revolution (the overthrow of the state) - Marx analytically separated revolts and rebellion from 'successful revolutions' although he used the term revolution for both. Rebellion was seen as a necessary but not sufficient cause of a successful revolution. Also necessary for a successful revolution was resistance by the state whose vulnerability was "affected by its strength, internal divisions, and foreign entanglements".[24]

Marx's theory of rebellion or revolt is an extension of his analysis of class conflict insist Boswell and Dixon: "economic development leads to class conflict and social rebellion by creating, expanding, and organizing the proletariat."[25] As can be seen, the vulgarization of grand theories from such ideologists as Marx carries on among neo-Marxist social scientists but it has also been the craft of practitioners and social scientists alike for the last century. It is they who have contributed to the evolutionary process of social movement theory upon which we will now turn our attention.

From Ideology to Theory

> For much of this century sociological studies of social movements have been dominated first by theories of ideology and later by theories of organization and rationality.[26]

> [M]ost of all, the empiricist illusion must be clearly rejected: It is impossible to define an object of study called 'social movements' without first selecting a general mode of analysis of social life on the basis of which a category of facts called social movements can be constituted.
>
> Alain Touraine

Quite independent of Marx and Engels, it was Lorenz Von Stein who developed the concept of the proletariat, identifying the rising and turbulent industrial working classes in the burgeoning cities of Western Europe as the crucial development of his age in his book *The History of the Social Movement in France, 1789-1850.*[27] Published in 1850, Von Stein's book Wilkinson states, was the pioneer work to define "a 'scientific' concept of social movements and to deploy the concept in an ambitious social theory." [28] Besides attempting to 'set up a concept of society as an independent term and develop its content', Heberle credits Von Stein with the development of three points: his conceptual distinction between the doctrine of the movement and the actual social movement; his idea that social movements are central to sociology, and lastly; his cogent description of the proletariat movement.[29]

Similar to Marx, Von Stein "rejected the idealism of Hegel's universal state in which the state and society were conceived as coterminous", challenging instead that the "life of the human community is a permanent struggle between the state and society."[30] Anticipating Marx's idea of class conflict, Von Stein accounts for the French revolutionary movements by identifying the 'inevitable conflict between the ruling classes and dominated workers':

> Since labour without capital is necessarily dependent on capital, capital is able to dictate the conditions under which labour is

> hired... The social position of each is now definite and unchangeable. It reflects a contradiction to the concept of labour by suspending the use of labour for acquisition and the gaining of property. Is a contradiction to the concept of the free personality in that it restrains the individual in the fulfillment of his aspirations. And it is contrary to the idea of liberty in that it fetters the development of human community... and in that it changes a society which in principle is committed to social freedom into one in which dependence prevails.[31]

Von Stein would have agreed with Marx that the cause of revolutionary movements was imbedded within the very fabric of economic institutions of a society where the profiting elites promoted the dependency and alienation of the workers. Where they part company however is in deciding which social actor should be at the helm of change. Fearful that a revolution by the proletariat would lead to tyranny by the inexperienced poor, eventually leading to the unscrupulous controlling the state, Von Stein favored reform of the major institutions over revolution: "[there are a large number of] workers who, though free, have no capital; it is this contradiction which transforms the class of labourers into proletariat, and a social revolution will necessarily ensue unless the capital-owning class seriously supports social reform."[32]

Von Stein's equation of working class efforts with organizing economic and political power, constituted the concept of 'social movement' among most German and Austrian historians of socialism till the end of the nineteenth century. Later on in 1896 a member of that school would write *Socialism and the Social Movement* which defined the movement as "the conception of all the attempts at emancipation on the part of the proletariat."[33]

Although written earlier in 1887, the significance of Ferdinand Tonnies' famous *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* was really only felt at the turn of the twentieth century with his distinction between 'social organization' and 'social collective'. While not using the term 'movement', Tonnies flagged for future social theorists the socio-psychological essence and the conscious volitional nature of participants of social movement in his discussions of the 'social collective'.

American Social Movement Theorists

European scholars, especially Germans, dominated the study of social movements in the nineteenth century, but in the 1900s many American social scientists started to submit important contributions. Literature on social movements was traditionally included in the subfield of sociology known as collective behaviour.[34] In 1944, H. W. Laidler published *Social-Economic Movements* in the tradition of Marx and Von Stein defining movements as "evolutionary processes toward world socialism."[35] His work became a virtual handbook on social reconstruction as well as a textbook for students of economics, labour, sociology, political science and ethics.

The more important American views appeared after 1946. One of the first was an article by Herbert Blumer immediately after World War II who defined social movements very broadly as "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life."[36] Of considerable use to scholars, Blumer presented a taxonomy of social movements that classified them as general, specific or expressive.

Later in 1957 Blumer suggested a two-prong concept: 'Whatever be its type, a social movement signifies either a collective effort to transform some given area of established social relations, or else a large unguided change involving, however unwittingly, large numbers of participants'.[37] Examples of unguided change included the growth of interest in science and the extension of democratic philosophy.

Rudolf Heberle freed the limited conceptualizations of social movements of his time, ambitiously and cogently developing a "comparative, systematic theory of social movements within a more comprehensive system of sociology" in his *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology* (1951).[38] While agreeing with the earlier German theorists that the main distinguishing feature of a social movement is that it aims to introduce radical changes in the social order, especially in the fields of property distribution and labour relations, Heberle expanded the notion of social movements to include peasant, nativistic and Fascist (but not, interestingly, religious) movements.

Heberle was determined to extract the essence of what a social movement is. Social movements were much more than a trend because they resulted from the 'concerted effort of an ideologically unified group'.[39] He also distinguished a social movement from a political party where the latter is 'held together more by a simple network of patronage than by a community of ideas'.[40] All social movements he insisted, derive from a constituency be it a social class, nationality, or group with common interests and are political in their concerns

meaning they attempt to shift the power relationships in a society's basic institutions. He also articulated criteria claiming social movements are always 'integrated by a specific pattern of normative commitments, 'constitutive ideas' or ideology' and that they are not to be confined nationally but can be multi-national, international or supra-national in character.[41]

Possibly the most significant early American contribution to the study of social movements was Neil Smelser's important work, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (1962).[42] In attempting to construct a theory of the determinants of collective behavior, including social movements, Smelser made a sharp division between 'norm-oriented movements (social reform movements for example)' and 'value-oriented movements (religious and revolutionary movements). Criticism of Smelser's work stemmed from his apparently rigid acceptance of Parson's hierarchy of 'components of social action: values; norms; mobilization into organized roles; and situational facilities'.[43]

Because social movements are rarely uni-dimensional as they simultaneously concern themselves with values, norms, forms of organization and material conditions and resources, such a rigid analyses of social movements can overlook their rich diversity and often self contradictory nature. While some of Smelser's work contributed a great deal to the origins and characterization of social movements, his all-embracing definitions have been criticized for not being capable of accommodating the wide range of cultural, intellectual and 'moral protest' movements.[44] Because his theories are a

quintessential example of functionalism, we will later on return to analyze, compare and critique his work.

Almost immediately pervasive throughout the United States upon publication was the influence of Mancur Olson's (1965) original conceptualization of collective action as a form of strategic action based on a cost-benefit analysis by self interested rational actors.[45] Theorists of Olson's 'resource mobilization' approach which now dominates much of the social movement theorizing in the United States, have deviated from Olson mainly in their explanation that the cost-benefit analysis is motivated more by collective incentives than by the 'calculating individual'.[46] However, these rational-choice, individualistic and intentionalist' theories of collective action were and continue to be criticized for, at the very least, failing to explain the desired goals or ends of collective action.

It was not long after Olson's landmark work that the turbulent 60s came to a head, at least symbolically, in 1968 when protests, and especially students' protests, around the world changed forever the perception of social stability/reproduction, social transformation and the state's role. This upheaval had global impact spawning an unprecedented watershed of social movement theorizing in the 70s that has only multiplied, both in volume and controversy, well into the 90s. Before turning to look at some of the more trenchant projects of the post-60s it will be useful to briefly review some shortfalls of the functionalist

and neo-Marxist theories of social movements that dominated sociology even well into the 80s.

Recent Functionalist and Marxist Theories of Social Movements

It is widely accepted that between the 50s and 80s the two major rival paradigms which dominated sociology were functionalism and neo-Marxism. Concerning general theories of social movements, the case also holds true. Alan Scott submits that the methodological and normative starting points of functionalism and neo-Marxism stand in sharp contrast. Functionalist theorists of social movements he states:

> [H]ave adhered to a view of sociological explanation as a form of 'empirical theory' the methodological principles behind which are loosely positivist. That is to say, first, they assume a unity of scientific method, namely, the view that the natural and social sciences share a common structure; second, they equate explanation with universalizable laws, that is, laws which are context independent and which hold across time, space, and, for the social sciences, cultural and historical contexts.[47]

Functionalism, consistent with its methodological principles, rejects the critical theory claim that (sociological) knowledge should in any way critique its object. Rather, it should remain objective towards the phenomena being described. For example, links between forms of explanation and actual social movement behaviour are not necessary. With its notable bias towards especially central institutionalized social relations such as government, family, etc., functionalism classifies the non-routine activity of social movements as anomalous and exceptional if not deviant. Social movement behaviour not only challenges institutional legitimacy, but by virture of its highly unpredictable spontaneous

character, apparently because it is not governed by rules or norms and is disruptive of the dominant order, is seen to be an irrational outburst.

Neo-Marxist theories on the other hand focus on social transformation rather than social reproduction and stability, both empirically and normatively speaking. Even though both paradigms are committed to a 'form of the unity-of-science hypothesis', neo-Marxism's view of that method, Scott submits, differs in certain ways. Structural Marxism, which constitutes one school of neo-Marxism[48], ascribes three characteristics to the "scientific" explanation that differentiate if from functionalism,:

> (i) there is a categorical distinction to be drawn between "ideological" and "scientific" practices; (ii) ideologies take the specific form of an empiricist theory of knowledge: the view that knowledge is possessed by a subject, whether individual or collective, and "reflects" a reality external to that subject; (iii) the "epistemological break" which characterizes the irreversible shift from ideology to science consists in the recognition that the "objects" of explanation are themselves theoretical constructs posited within scientific practice; that is, science is self-referential.[49]

Functionalist analysis then, according to structuralists, is more ideological than scientific because of its 'adherence to a particular conception of knowledge' i.e. positivism and not because of its normative baggage.

Ironically, despite vast differences between the two theories, structural Marxism, Scott submits, gives "no less anachronistic status" to social movements than functionalism.[50] Because social movements are "not-quite-class-movements", they are viewed in a pejorative light, "[l]ike institutions in functionalism, class movements in Marxism provide a norm against which other

forms of activity are measured; a norm in terms of which other social movements constitute deviant cases."[51]

Rather than provide a lengthy comparative analysis of the prominent strengths and criticisms of significant functionalist and Marxist theories, we will briefly follow one example of a clear argument critiquing the shortcomings of two particular theories of social movements; one adequately representative of functionalism, the other of Marxism. Alan Scott's argument, found in his work *Ideology and the New Social Movements*, compares Neil Smelser's functionalism with Manuel Castells' structural Marxism.[52]

Problems with Functionalism

In Smelser's *Theory of Collective Behaviour,* the key explanatory concept of his theory is "strain" defined as a "condition of ambiguity as to the adequacy of means for a given end", suggesting that neither equilibrium nor disequilibrium are the norm of the social system.[53] Scott insists however, that Smelser assumes a basic consensus underlying potential differences in society when he assumes a means/ends distinction, and by "confining conflict to the realm of means."[54] By definitional fiat, Smelser rules out "the possibility that collective action could be innovative in the sense of being oriented to new value or pointing beyond the boundaries of the social system."[55]

In what Smelser calls a 'value added' model, he offers a "general explanation of collective behaviour which moves from the highest level of abstraction (universal characteristics of social structures), downwards through a

series of stages until specific concrete instances of collective behaviour are accounted for."[56] Each stage acts as a pre-condition for the next and collective behaviour occurs when a sufficient number of pre-conditions have been attained.

Thus, in Smelser's hierarchy of explanation, the master proposition of collective behavour is that "people under strain mobilize to reconstruct social order in the name of a generalized principle belief."[57] The next stage is to identify what general beliefs exist e.g. hysteria or hostility, followed by the need to explain the conditions under which people develop and act on such beliefs. In the very last step, provided that all the stages have been followed, the individual instances of collective behaviour phenomena can be explained. In his explanation of one form of collective behaviour Smelser states all the pre-conditions:

> Panic will occur if the appropriate conditions of conduciveness are present, *and* if the appropriate conditions of strain are present, *and* if a hysterical belief develops, *and* if mobilization occurs, *and* if social controls fails to operate.[58]

What Smelser is trying to do is identify the various determinants which will "provide the best possible answer to the explanatory question... What determines whether an episode of collective behaviour of *any sort* will occur? What determines whether one type *rather than another* will occur?"[59]

Smelser, Scott insists, often slips into tautological arguments wherein by trying to identify causal conditions such as panic for example, he actually

redefines panic. Scott identifies the source of this problem and its relation to functionalism:

> This tautology stems from a conception of model building which does not allow us to identify the phenomena with which we are concerned with reference to specific contexts and meanings... The difficulty in identifying laws except as tautologies, and in specifying the causal relations between variables, makes it difficult for functionalism to achieve its primary aim: to develop generalizations which have real explanatory power and are not merely *ad hoc*.[60]

Smelser's Style of Positivism

Smelser epitomizes functionalist thought in assuming that natural and scientific method follow a parallel, unified course and that the discovery of existing universal laws is not only possible but has superior explanatory power. In his analysis of social movements, Smelser's style of positivism assumes that the "creation of master propositions" will generate lower-level propositions" with which we then establish the conditions under which the proposition holds."[61] In attempting to identify laws in the realm of social life, such as attempting to identify the 'conditions of conduciveness' of collective behaviour, Scott states that Smelser's conception of the scientific method to the social sciences is inappropriate.[62] Scott concludes his criticism of the limitations of Smelser's functionalist approach which makes it difficult for him to sufficiently explain social movement phenomena:

> The combination of abstract methodology plus political standpoint leads Smelser to believe that collective behaviour requires a qualitatively different form of explanation from normal institutional action. In effect, Smelser explains institutional behaviour in terms of reason for actions, and non-institutional behaviour in causal terms.[63]

Having briefly analyzed and critiqued Smelser's functionalist theories of collective behaviour following Alan Scott's argument, we can now compare the structural Marxist theory of Manuel Castells.

Problems with Marxist Theories

Turning to the structural Marxist model of Manuel Castells, we can see that his basic premise is in direct opposition to Smelser's. Collective behaviour is an 'interruption to normal social processes' according to Smelser's essentially functionalist theory, while for Castells "it reflects the contradictions endemic within those processes."[64] Castells classifies Smelser's collective behaviour theories as 'reformist paternalism' because they are caught within a systems integration problematic'.[65]

From his publication *The City and the Grassroots*, Castells describes social movements as primarily urban phenomena within contemporary society. Using an Althusserian account of 'scientific' or 'theoretical' practices, Castells' first step is to identify 'urban politics' as the theoretical object of analysis. Next, he identifies the components of the theoretical object breaking it up into three parts: (i) "the political" which "refers to the structures by which a society exercises control over the different instances which constitute it, thereby assuring domination of a particular social class;"[66] (ii) "politics" conceptualized as power relations defined as "the capacity of one social class to realize its specific objective interests at the expense of others;"[67] (iii) "the urban" which Scott suggests refers to a set of problems about 'the organization of space' and

'the process of collective consumption' and not about ideological notions such as urban culture.[68]

Castells defines urban space as city space that is 'a residential unit of labour power'. He then identifies the city as an 'agglomeration' or a unit of 'collective consumption' and conflict no longer within the sphere of production (wages, working time, etc.), but within the sphere of the reproduction of labour power (which bear on issues such as housing, schooling, health, etc.).[69] As Scott states:

> Labour is caught in an unequal competition with capital for space and facilities, and this competition is essentially an urban phenomenon. Where this conflict gives rise to a collective response on the side of labour, this takes the form of "collective consumption trade unionism", that is, action which does not challenge social relations in their entirety, but attempts to win for labour a larger share in collective goods.[70]

Thus, Castells' view that contemporary social movements are urban in nature stems from his analysis of contemporary capitalism. Social movements are then defined as "an organized system of actors" who are "agents", and "whose most obvious expression is in social classes, [and who] are only the supporters of these structural relations".[71]

Castells' Deductivist Approach

Scott's criticism originates from Castells' general deductivist scientific approach evident in his aim. Castells' aim "is not to place events back within a context, but to show the realization of a structural law or set of laws within a social process. This operation is equivalent to the demonstration or proof of a

law."[72] The law in question Scott points out, is "Althusser's modes of production theory, which attempts to specify which sub-system within a given mode of production will be dominant by identifying its basic determinants."[73] So despite its Marxian language, Castells' model of sociological explanation of social movements at this stage Scott submits, 'is essentially the same as Smelser's'. Castells' attempt at model building is reminiscent of Smelser's in that he too theorizes in a "process as one of moving down from a high level of generality (a theory of modes of production) to the particular object of research", as can be observed in Castells' own words:

> [P]reviously discovered laws of the mode of production in question can be applied to the problems concerned; and the problems can be used to discover new laws which can in turn be transported to other domains of reality (social forms) in which the same structures are realized in a different way.[74]

Scott also compares Castells' theoretical approach with Smelser's explanation of social movement mobilization:

> Because Castells shares with Smelser a radically anti-social action approach, he cannot account for the presence or absence of mobilization. In defining the social base exclusively with reference to the structural location of the agents, Castells can at best hope to identify the structural pre-conditions of social movement activity, but in themselves these structural factors are at most necessary conditions for action.[75]

Within Castells' project there are two determinants of the urban system: urban planning, which reproduces the social structure of the city; and urban social movements, which foster social change producing a 'qualitatively new effect' either at the level of structure, i.e. "a change in the structural law of the

dominant system" or at the level of practices, i.e. "a change in the balance of forces in a direction counter to institutionalized social domination."[76]

In analyzing urban social movements, Castells refers to issues or 'stakes' and their effects on "elements within the urban system or on class relations" which give social movements legitimacy as a 'social force'. The nature of a social movement is identified primarily through their effects rather than the type of organization or demands. If one follows the argument that social reform is one legitimate and crucial part of social transformation then C. G. Pikvance's criticism makes sense in that defining social movements in terms of their effects leads to a unsatisfactory and strict distinction between reformism and movements that effect social transformation:

> [A]n organization where the contradictions involved are purely 'urban' (i.e., concerned with the special unit of the process of reproduction of labour power - e.g. issues such as housing, education and collective facilities) and not linked to the 'political' or 'economic' aspect of class struggle, can at the most be an 'instrument of reform'.[77]

If urban social movements are restricted to 'collective consumption' as Castells suggest, then Scott surmises, "their activities are analogous to those of trade unions in that they negotiate for a larger proportion of the total surplus produced *without challenging the nature of production itself.* For urban social movements this means an interest in participation... rather than control over the planning process."[78]

Scott suggests that the motive for purposely neglecting "all subjective elements as influences on group formation and issue selection appears to be the

desire to retain basic principles even at the cost of reducing the explanatory value of the theory."[79] Furthermore, Scott critiques:

> Castells wishes to define the productive sphere as *the* source of contradiction in the social formation. All real conflicts are class conflicts around the issue of the ownership and control of the means of production; collective trade unionism can, by definition, only be a partial manifestation of this conflict.[80]

> Castells constructs a second unnecessary dichotomy between reform and transformation. He insists that 'all conflict is to be understood in terms of a classical class model' excluding "a priori the possibility that reforms can be transformative, or that planning or existing authorities (such as local government) can be innovatory."[81]

Scott concludes that Castells has virtually erased any distinction between Marxism and structural Marxism and that, similar to Smelser who 'assumes that the social system will always act to stabilize itself', Castells 'assumes a more or less smooth-running operation of the ideological and state apparatus which is itself defined in terms of its function in maintaining class relations'. In conclusion, it can be seen that the limitations of general theories of social movements arise as a result of their generalizing ambitions. In providing such a level of generality, Scott laments these theories bypass many of the more important questions raised by the phenomenon of social movements - especially those that relate to 'social agents and the specific context of their actions'.[82] Why, for example, does mobilization take the specific form it does? Scott summarizes the central criticism of functionalist and Marxist theories of social movements:

> Both functionalism and Marxism are *general deductivist* theories which hope to deduce an understanding of specific events from a higher level of theory. Both treat the social structure as a coherent, holistic and relatively unambiguous entity, however strained or

> ridden with contradictions... The limitations of such general deductivist theories of social movements, whether functionalist or neo-Marxist, is that they must restrict themselves to identifying the structural preconditions for social movement activity. But the problem is that these pre-conditions are precisely that: at most necessary but not sufficient conditions for mobilization... The appearance or otherwise of such movements will depend upon a whole host of other factors which are context specific, and cannot be deduced from social-structural conditions.[83]

Summary

The discussion began with a brief exploration of the most significant ideological sources of social movement theory in the works of Rousseau and Marx. Their contributions have given rise to grand-narratives that still profoundly influence social movement theorizing. Following that, a review of the evolution of social movement theorizing from 1850 until 1968 revealed that while Marxist theories dominated the field for the first one hundred years, functionalist theories rose up to share the stage from 1950 onward.

For three reasons our discussion then followed a critique of the two branches of social movement theory; specifically that of Neil Smelser's functionalism and Manuel Castells' structural Marxism. First, it is important to understand the limitations endemic to these two 'general deductivist scientific approaches' which make them inadequate in their explanatory power of social movement phenomena. Second, mostly because some of their shortcomings seem to raise their heads in forthcoming "more advanced" theories, it is important to grasp a clearer understanding of their particular explanatory limitations and inadequacies which eventually led to their obsolescence. Finally,

beginning in the 70s, theories of social movement rushed headlong into the very mainstream of sociological and political theory as practitioners of conventional sociological and political analysis encountered unprecedented difficulties explaining the "new" social movements of the 60s. It was important then to develop a greater appreciation of the backdrop to the imminent watershed of rational social movement theories which began to multiply in the 70s. The following chapter will explore one of the two theoretical traditions now most common in social movement theorizing: New Social Movement theory.

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[1] Foweraker, 1990: p. 2
[2] Tilly, 1987: p. 297
[3] Ibid. p. 298
[4] Sztompka, 1993: p. 279
[5] Rose & Ross, 1994: p. 440-1
[6] Wilkinson, 1971: p. 33
[7] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 13
[8] Wilkinson, 1971: p. 34
[9] Wilkinson, 1971: p. 35
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. p. 34-5
[13] Ibid. p. 40
[14] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 12-13
[15] Ibid. p. 13
[16] Wilkinson, 1971 p. 40
[17] Avineri as quoted in Wilkinson, 1970: p. 45
[18] Boswell and Dixon, 1993: p. 681.
[19] Bowell and Dixon, Ibid. To their surprise, Boswell and Dixon (1990) discovered with others doing cross-national research (Muller and Seligson 1987; Timberlake and Williams 1987 and London and Robinson 1989) that there was "a perplexing positive net effect of economic development on rebellion" : "[i]n models that include central causal factors like repression, inequality, and economic decline - all of which are negatively associated with economic development - the net effect of economic development is positive. That economic development increases rebellion net of these factors remains an enigma that prompts a renewed look at Marx's theory".
[20] Ibid. p.682 Italics mine
[21] Ibid. p. 683 (The rate of exploitation is the ratio of surplus value to the total value of labour power.)
[22] Ibid.
[23] Marx [1887] 1967, vol. 1, p. 763 as quoted in Boswell and Dixon, 1993: p. 682
[24] Boswell and Dixon, 1993: Ibid.
[25] Ibid. p. 683 They claim their own analysis of class exploitation within 61 countries distinguishes their study from others in the conflict tradition in that it indicates that rebellions occur as a result of conditions predicted by Marx - that is, class exploitation produces revolts

during market crises. By market crises it is meant short term periodic over-productions of commodities relative to buying power that result from what Marx called the contradiction between the forces and the relations of production, i.e. when bourgeois property relations fetter the development of production. Marx's theory of rebellion they assert, "centers on the growth of the proletariat and the increased rate of exploitation during market crises": Contemporary research on class compromise in industrial and agrarian societies provides an expanded and updated rationale for the core Marxist argument that class conflict becomes militant and potentially rebellious when exploitation rates are high and rates of economic growth are low... Because the state is responsible for enforcing the implicit social contract and maintaining economic growth, this provides an additional rationale for the proposition that class conflict is directed toward the state during market crises. Exploitation in conjunction with market crises not only produces discontent and frustration, the combination mobilizes class actors to make economic claims on the state.

[26] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 3

[27] Wilkinson, 1971: p. 20

[28] Ibid.

[29] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 12

[30] Wilkinson, 1971: Ibid.

[31] as quoted in Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 12

[32] Ibid.

[33] Wilkinson, 1971: p. 21

[34] Ironically, classic statements concerning social movements were made in two introductory sociology texts - Park and Burgess (1924) dealt with collective behaviour as 'process' while Dawson and Gettys (1935) laid out the stages of social movements (Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 15). Another one of the earliest works published on social movements in the USA was *Contemporary Social Movements* by Jerome Davis in 1930. Considered a progressive, Davis saw many societal problems as economic at their root as in the case with movements to end war which he thought would bring about changes to the war-making society (Ibid. p. 13).

[35] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 14

[36] Ibid.

[37] Blumer as quoted by Wilkinson, 1971: p. 24

[38] Wilkinson, Ibid.

[39] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: p. 14

[40] Ibid.

[41] Wilkinson, 1971: p.23 Later on after Heberle, King (1956) stressed geography and time in movements; Turner and Killian (1957) made the distinction between movements and quasimovements; and Lang and Lang (1961) discussed movements as 'collective dynamics'.

[42] Ibid. p. 24

[43] Ibid. p. 25

[44] Ibid. p. 26

[45] Munck. 1990: p. 24

[46] Ibid. p. 25

[47] Scott, 1990: p. 158

[48] as Alan Scott has said, "most of the theorists of social movements who ally themselves with the Marxist tradition...are more specifically structuralist Marxists. I use the term "neo-Marxism" to avoid conflating Marxism with its structuralist interpretation"

[49] Scott, 1990: p. 38-9

[50] Ibid. p. 39

[51] Ibid. Equating true social movements with class movements has been well illustrated in Lukacs' distinction between "empirical" and "imputed" consciousness. Lukacs, Scott maintains, insisted that "only when class consciousness and social-structural location coincide, can the concomitant objective interests be identified, and significant social change be brought about".

[52] Scott, 1990

[53] Smelser, 1962: p. 51 as quoted in Ibid. p. 40

[54] Scott, 1990: Ibid.

[55] Ibid. p. 40
[56] Ibid.
[57] Smelser, 1962: p. 385 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 41 Italics are Scott's.
[58] Smelser, Ibid. p. 385 Ibid. p. 41.
[59] Scott, Ibid. p. 41
[60] Scott, 1990: p. 42
[61] Smelser, 1962: p. 385 as quoted in Scott, Ibid.
[62] A further major methodological difficulty in identifying sociological laws" Scott suggests, "is the identification of some exogenous variable which can then act as an objective and context-independent datum. To achieve this, Smelser must treat beliefs as the causes, or causal pre-conditions of action, and "[o]n this account beliefs become reflexes appropriate to some given external circumstance". In effect specific contexts are again subsumed into the general framework of explanation as generalizable causal factors. Scott points out that this a "highly artificial way of describing social relations" because as he explains: Strain does not cause my beliefs, as Smelser assumes; rather the beliefs I have will influence whether or not I see my situation as strained. Similarly, beliefs do not come into being in order that I can act in a certain way (for instance, so that I can "reduce ambiguity"); my acting in a certain way will be dependent on the beliefs I hold. p. 43.
[63] Scott, 1990: pp. 44-5
[64] Ibid. p. 46
[65] Ibid.
[66] Castells, 1976: p. 148 as quoted in Scott, 1990: Ibid.
[67] Castells, Ibid. as quoted in Scott, Ibid.
[68] Scott, 1990: p. 46-7
[69] Ibid. p.47
[70] Ibid.
[71] Castells, 1976: p. 150-1 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 48
[72] Ibid.
[73] Scott, 1990: p. 48
[74] Castells, 1976: p. 152 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 48
[75] Scott, 1990: p. 50
[76] Ibid. p. 151
[77] Pickvance, 1976: p. 200 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 49
[78] Scott, Ibid. Italics mine. Another problematic of Castells' argument is his rigid distinction between "classes for- themselves and in-themselves" which improperly assumes that just because a person shares a position within a specific class, urban collective trade unionism in this case, is sufficient cause for them to mobilize. Not only does Castells' theory not provide a sufficient explanatory account for mobilization, Scott remarks how he also does not "explain why certain stakes, and not others, become issues": "Until one allows that an important determinant of issues is people's perception of what the issues are, it is difficult to see how an emphasis on certain issues comes about. Likewise, one must allow that the activities and nature of protest organizations are an important factor in shaping that perception, rather than define the stakes with reference to structural contradictions alone" (Scott, 1990: p. 50).
[79] Ibid. p. 51
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid. Pickvance critiques Castells on similar grounds: [It] is taken as axiomatic within this approach that authorities will not grant changes which threaten the stability of the mode of production. But...purely urban social movements are not considered to be capable of provoking changes of this scale and the empirical studies bear this out. It appears to that a different theoretical assumption is being made, namely, that "authorities" will not grant concessions *of any scale* without the intervention of social movements (Pickvance, 1976: p. 203 in Scott Ibid.).
[82] Ibid. p. 52
[83] Scott, 1990: pp. 52-3

CHAPTER 3

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A DEBATE

Introduction

> Yet with the disintegration of the communist world and the prudent apostasy of Marxist intellectuals, Marxism itself was plunged into a crisis... which has yet to abate and offers little promise of reversal. Ironically, the threatened loss of a master narrative able to guide social struggles along analytically prescribed routes has opened political space for the proliferation of new social movements (NSMs), giving a new momentum - however inchoate - to social change.[1]

As Johnson et al state, "[f]or much of this century sociological studies of social movements have been dominated first by theories of ideology and later by theories of organization and rationality."[2] Having discussed the ideological theories of Marxism and functionalism, we now turn to one of the latter theories: new social movements. The following discussion will be broken into two sections with the first section looking at the period, origins and prominent characteristics of the "new" social movements as presented by their predominantly post-Marxist theorists since the 70s. This will include a brief presentation of how new social movement (NSM) literature has attempted to re-frame the discussion of political representation as well as reforming civil society. In the second section, a review of the major criticisms of NSM theory will provide a better understanding of NSM nuances and problems and thus a deeper appreciation of some of the most pressing issues in social movement theory since 1968.

The Period of New Movements

> Our last historical hinge is 1968, the year when yet another wave of revolutionary fever swept across the world, from Bejing to Berkeley, from Paris to Mexico City. For the first time, a revolutionary social movement had acquired global reach, sending shivers through all the corridors of power. In the end, the movement was defeated, just as it had been in 1848; but in at least one respect, it had succeeded. It had revealed the total bankruptcy of the established order. Finance and industrial capital had succeeded in organizing global markets. But the number of the world's poor was rising year after year; in the rich countries, consumerism had become more a burden than a pleasure; the human soul was in the grip of unknown terrors; devastating wars were fought to bitter conclusions in Southeast Asia and Central America; economic restructuring had made many millions of able-bodied workers redundant; the state itself was sinking ever more deeply into debt, even as economic growth was slowing to a crawl. The welfare system, which had been so elaborately devised, lay shipwrecked on the shoals of fiscal crisis. The easy optimism of the immediate postwar decades was crumbling.
>
> John Friedman in Reviewing Two Centuries[3]

Since the 1960s, the emergence of apparently new forms of collective action in especially, but not only advanced industrial societies, have deeply challenged social scientists on several continents to reconceptualize the very nature and meaning of social movements. The black civil rights movement, peace movements, women's rights or feminist movements, student movements, gay rights movements, ecology movements, anti-nuclear energy protest movements, minority nationalism movements, indigenous people's movements, and fundamentalist religious movements to name a few, have made their presence known in unprecedented number and manner since the 60s. They are called "new social movements" (NSMs). They have generated unprecedented theoretical activity among sociologists, historians and political scientists since

the late 60s. Unfortunately, it is only very recently that adult educationalists have been concerned with social movements at the theoretical level.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, Habermas counts the following, among others, as NSMs: anti-nuclear and environmental struggles, the peace movement, citizen's action, social minorities (such as gays and lesbians), tax protest and the feminist movement.[4] Laclau and Mouffe in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, although admitting they struggle with the term "new social movements", identify the following as "new forms of social conflict": "the new feminism, the protest movements of ethnic, national and sexual minorities, the anti-institutional ecology struggles waged by marginalized layers of the population, the anti-nuclear movement, the atypical forms of social struggle in countries on the capitalist periphery..."[5] Carl Boggs in *Social Movements and Political Power*, classifies NSMs into five subtypes: "urban social struggles, the environment or ecology movement, women's and gay liberation, the peace movement, and cultural revolt linked primarily to student and youth activism."[6]

Some have observed that these NSMs are more a re-emergence of social movements that were active well before the 60s.[7] The black rights civil rights movement for example had been collectively resisting racial inequality since the early nineteenth century. An earlier wave of resistance and protest by women's right movements in the 1920s had eventually led to the same voting privileges as men.[8] Just as women's liberation and gay/lesbian liberation had been growing throughout the 50s in the United States, so too had the peace movement in the

form of anti-nuclear campaigns developed since the early 50s in Europe. In a very crude dichotomy, the period, political values and organizational values of social movements can be compared under the "old" and "new" paradigms (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Comparison of Social Movements in "Old' and "New" Paradigms.[9]

	"Old paradigm"	"New paradigm"
Time period	immediate postwar	contemporary social movements
Political values	freedom and security of private consumption and material progress	personal autonomy and identity as opposed to centralized control
Organizational Values	formal organization, large scale representative association	informality, spontaneity, low degrees of horizontal & vertical differentiation

But it was the students' movements of the late 60s, most notably in 1968, that really did appear to be 'new' given their response to the contemporary events of the time. In the United States, it was first and foremost a reaction to what was often called an unjustified and unnecessary conscription to, and war in, Vietnam. In Mexico, just before the 1968 Olympics, hundreds of students were killed in the *Zocalo* of Mexico City protesting the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Similarly, there were students' movements in Europe and China. In terms of composition and aims, they were and are allegedly quite distinct from the "old" worker's movement. NSMs are, their supporters claim, socialism without the workers.

Socialism without the Workers

> It is the industrial system itself which is about to undo us - not the bourgeois class but the system as a whole in which the working class plays the role of the housewife. It would therefore be a most inappropriate strategy for survival to appeal to the interests of the working class.[10]

> The common denominator of all new social movements is their differentiation from workers' struggles, considered as 'class struggles', together with an expansion of social conflict.
>
> Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe[11]

Lorna Weir, commenting on the scope and location of the NSM debate, includes the following general characteristics of NSMs:

> These movements are thought to be defined by an orientation to identity and cultural politics rather than to state and class politics. NSMs have generally been characterized as anti-bureaucratic movements which engage in the defence of, and are located in, civil society. Most commentators describe NSMs as having a loose, informal organizational structure and a membership recruited mainly from the new middle class. Yet "new social movements" signifies far more than a list, and the discussion about their defining characteristics has become one of the major contemporary debates in critical and socialist theory.[12]

Other unique characteristics of NSMs include: "[an] emphasis on such psycho-social practices as consciousness raising, group therapy, etc.; the attempt to create a free social and geographical space for experiments in life-style such as occurs in squatters' movements... ; the emphasis on the political nature of the personal within feminism; the emphasis on grass-roots democracy in ecology."[13]

Giddens has remarked that much of the discussion concerning NSMs is a response in particular to three failed predictions of orthodox Marxian theory which have left a difficult heritage for those currently wanting to develop Marx's analysis of class:

> 1) [T]he disappearance of those classes and segments of classes which 'complicate' the main dichotomous class system of capital and wage-labour;
> 2) the progressive elimination of diversified sectors within the working class itself;
> 3) the growing disparity between the material wealth of capital and wage-labour.[14]

Abandoning the distinction between a class-in-itself and a class-for-itself, NSM theorists have played a vanguard role in treating "as classes only those groups who consciously recognize common interests and act, at least in certain respects, as a single coherent entity. In other words, social movements are substituted for, or equated with, class."[15]

Touraine's Perspective of Social Movements

> Let us free ourselves from the heritage of the philosophy of history and think of social systems as the product of collective action.[16]

The work of Alain Touraine, arguably the most influential scholar in the NSM project, epitomizes the shift of emphasis away from a conventional class analysis towards a "content-specific analysis of processes and action, and to the content of social movements demands."[17] Touraine's radical form of social action theory relinquishes class as a structural category. His sociological explanation focuses on the 'social subject as active perpetuator and, crucially, creator of social relations'. The first key concept in Touraine's project is that of 'action' defined as, "the behaviour of an actor guided by cultural orientations and set within social relations defined by an unequal connection with the social control of these orientations."[18] Opposing theories of social life which reduce action "to structure or to relations of pure domination", Touraine sharply critiques

central tenets of class analysis such as class rule. A comparison of Marxist and NSM class analysis demonstrates some of the key differences (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Comparison of Central Views of Marxist and NSM (Tourainian) Class Analysis.

Marxist	Touraine's
It is possible to identify long-term developments on the basis of an understanding of the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production.	"A sociology of action should first of all refuse to seek for the natural laws of a social system, since the system is no more than the product of social relations and, at the same time, of history."[19]
The workers movement has a central role in the transformation of capitalism *by dint of its structural location* within that society.	"There can be no class without class consciousness."[20]
It is possible to identify a priori the objective interest of those classes which challenge the dom...ant order on the basis of which we can assert that communism will be the aim of working-class movements in the absence of false consciousness.	"The historical actors are determined as much by a cultural field as by a social conflict."[21]

It is the collective actors then, the social movements, and not labour which play the central role in NSM theory. This new class analysis is demonstrated in Touraine's definition of NSMs, "[they are] the organized collective behaviour of a class actor struggling against [its] class adversary for the social control of historicity in a concrete community."[22] By historicity, it is meant the "processes of social continuity and transformation which are co-determinate with social action."[23] His definition of historicity enriches the dynamic aspect of history in that it embodies the dialectical conservative and liberating forces that are always

being influenced by social action. Touraine's methodology, especially in its use of the central concepts of social movement and historicity, becomes more clear in h explanation of societal formation:

> A society is formed by two opposing movements: one which changes historicity into *organization*, to the point of transforming it into *order* and power, and another which breaks down this order so as to rediscover the orientation and conflicts through *cultural innovation* and through *social movement*.[24]

The characteristics imputed to these "new" movements stand in contrast to the worker's movement in a few key areas: the social location, the aims, organizational form and the medium through which they work.[25] Table 3.3 contrasts, in very simplistic form, these central characteristics of NSMs with "old" movements generally portrayed in NSM literature.

Table 3.3 Key Points of Contrast Between New Movements and the Workers' Movements.[26]

	Workers' movement	New social movements
Location	increasingly within the polity	civil society
Aims	political integration/ economic rights	changes in values and lifestyle/defence of civil society
Organization	formal/ hierarchical	network/grass roots
Medium of Action	political mobilization	direct action/ cultural innovation

Many have asked that even if the workers' movement was (arguably?) the central movement of industrial society, is it not presumptuous to classify all and

such diverse social movements since 1968 as "new"? In order to classify them under the same title, NSMs need to have enough in common to be treated as related social phenomena i.e. they need more in common than just being contemporary. Scott identifies the following three types of arguments within NSM literature which try to support the view that "new movements are, at least potentially, a coherent social force, or at least constitute a reaction to some common set of circumstances":

> (1) Some studies assume or assert clear empirical similarity between [NSMs]. This view is also common within literature stemming from the social movements themselves, and arguments to this effect are often made on political grounds.
>
> (2) Social movement theorists, such as Alain Touraine, impute empirical similarities to [NSMs] on the basis of a broader sociological analysis of contemporary society. For Touraine, [NSMs] are both bearers and symptoms of the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. Similarly, for Habermas, [NSMs] are to be understood in the context of the long historical process of rationalization within Western societies. As such, they develop common themes in criticizing traditional values which have thus far remained unchallenged by processes of rationalization.
>
> (3) Finally, one can argue that, while [NSMs] are empirically highly heterogeneous, they can nevertheless be treated as a unity because of their social location (for example, within civil society, not the state) and on the basis of their structural similarities. The prominent Italian social movement theorist Alberto Melucci comes close to this view in his analysis of 'social movement sectors'.[27]

It is with the second point, the idea that NSMs are 'both bearers and symptoms of the transition from industrial to post-industrial society', that we need to take a closer look.

NSMs: Bearers and Symptoms of our Times

> Much of the postmodern claim postulating the fall of meta-narratives, the replication of incommensurable discourses, and the character of new social movements as 'nomads of the present' depends on conceptualizing them as incoherent series of particularities.[28]

> [T]heir decentralized organizational form; their social heterogeneity; their fluctuating and localized targets and goals; and their predominantly antistate, antibureaucratic, and, in some sense, "populist" character ... are reactions to the Fordist form of capitalist societalization and to the political structure of the Fordist security state.
>
> Joachim Hirsch commenting on new movements[29]

Some try to explain that especially NSMs in the West have such striking similarities because they are to a large degree, a reaction to modernism and product of post-modernism or post-Fordism. They are, it could be said, a product of the "new times". Thus, NSMs have common characteristics, the rationale goes, because they are a reaction to broader changes in society. The prolific NSM theorist Alberto Melucci, a former student of Alain Touraine, succinctly described a fundamental shift in values when he portrayed the change from industrialism/modernism to post-industrialism/postmodernism: "The freedom to *have* which characterized... industrial society has been replaced by the freedom to *be*."[30] And it is "new times" which are most often equated with a postmodernist and post-industrialist society with all its effects on collective behaviour:

> [T]he pursuit of collective identity flows from an intrinsic need for an integrated and continuous social self, a self that is thwarted and assaulted in ... society. ...identity-seeking behaviors [as demonstrated in NSMs] seem to result from four factors that are characteristic of postmodernism: material affluence, information

> overload, confusion over the wide horizon of available cultural alternatives, and system inadequacies in providing institutionally based and culturally normative alternatives for self-identification.[31]

Writing from a Western European context, it has been said that Alain "Touraine's project remains the identification of that social movement *most appropriate* to post-industrial society."[32]

MacDermond and Stevenson in their research on recent evidence of NSM activity in Canada, similarly explain a shift from modernistic to postmodern expressions:

> While liberal and Marxian political sociologists approach new social movements from different theoretical perspectives, there is a broad consensus about explanations for the origins of these groups that holds... that the "old" (although confusingly "modern") politics, characterized by the conflict between classes in capitalist societies, is being replaced by a "new," "post-modern" and "post-materialist" politics based on non-class identities... [and] that this shift is a consequence of the "decomposition" of increasingly heterogeneous social classes in progressively "disorganized", late capitalist societies... [and] that the new lines of exploitation and domination to which the NSMs respond cross-cut class cleavages, leading to a "dealignment" of the traditional class base of political parties and electoral politics, and to their political and ideological restructuring as they accommodate the agendas of the new social movements.[33]

New movements, many suggest, are "culturally" reacting to capitalist modernization and state action that has given rise to: "the growing differentials of society, and the increased autonomy of the different systems which constitute it, and lead to 'pure' movements which raise the problem of the control of collective resources (nature, the body, interpersonal relations) in directly cultural terms."[34] In a similar vein, others state that NSMs are a reaction to the

bureaucratization of the welfare state. Claus Offe for example, suggests NSMs mobilize against bureaucratic autonomy and for decentralization/self-determination. Laclau and Mouffe explain that NSMs are the "combined result of liberal-democratic discourse and reaction to three postwar social processes... the commodification, bureaucratization and increasing homogenization of social life."[35]

Adam has observed that subsequent general theories of NSMs have borrowed heavily from Habermas' premise that NSMs are all about defence and resistance against the bureaucratization and monetarization of public and private areas of life."[36] Reflecting on the increasing irrelevancy of political parties and the electoral system as well as the continuing bureaucratization of trade unions, Habermas has argued that political activity has been pushed into a new arena which has been subject to the 'monetarization and bureaucratization of the spheres of action of employees and of consumers, of citizens, of clients and of state bureaucracies'. The purpose behind the mobilization of NSMs Habermas states, is "primarily one of... defending and restoring endangered ways of life", addressing issues of "quality of life, equal rights, individual self-realization, participation and human rights."[37] Postmodernists Patton and Seidman would agree as they advocate that NSMs promote:

> [L]ocalized micro-politics - a kind of discursive guerrilla warfare guided not by grand theories and strategies but by highly contextualized knowledge and values - that strives to unsettle or deconstruct the conventional political order... By implication, postmodernists deny the *state* any privileged position in emancipatory struggles, and tend to be hostile toward political

> parties of whatever stripe, which are bound to become bureaucratic, corrupt and undemocratic.[38]

Referring to NSMs as 'movements of cultural defence', Carl Boggs states, they "struggle to recover community that had been destroyed by rampant urbanization; revulsion against the worst manifestations of economic modernization and the consumer society; and a skepticism toward conventional ideologies of whatever sort - liberalism, Marxism, Leninism, even anarchism. "[39] Their defensive role Kitschelt suggests, "aims at incrementally limiting the expansion of commodity relations and administrative control under conditions of [what he calls] 'bounded rationality'."[40] Melucci says they "revolt against change directed from above" and are "a cultural locus of resistance and of desire... opposed to rationalization."[41]

Finally, Weir's list of common themes in NSM literature provides a good summary of the key social processes that caused NSMs to emerge:

> 1) material and status frustration generated by expectations which the welfare state has been incapable of fulfilling; 2) the politicization of everyday life through interventions of welfare state/capitalist modernization; 3) the generation of new values resisting the institutional forces of instrumental reason.[42]

However, what hypothetically caused NSMs to emerge is not the sum description of NSMs.

To better understand NSMs it will be useful to identify some of their more common and prominent fundamental characteristics. Because NSMs are characterized as much by their diversity as by their shared characteristics, even the ideal-type new movement will not display all of the same characteristics.

Alan Scott suggests that within all the debate of new movement characteristics, they might be best described using three separate categories: their aims and demands; their ideologies; and their organizational forms.[43]

Identity and Lifestyle

One key aim of NSMs can be characterized broadly as 'bringing about social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols.' Transforming and defending 'personal identities' is central in NSM theory which is often achieved through lifestyles that counter the dominant cultural forces as Scott implies:

> These movements are identity involving and transforming, they self-consciously manipulate symbols and they challenge entrenched values. This can best be achieved through the creation of alternative life-styles and the discursive re-formation of individual and collective wills.[44]

Johnston et al state NSMs often revolve around typically personal and intimate aspects of human life and individual lifestyle. What people eat, wear, enjoy; with whom they make love, how they cope with personal problems or plan their careers - movements now focus their attention on the personal rituals of daily life.[45] Sometimes this personal aspect of NSM demands seem self-indulgent as some NSMs have described their aim as, "in sum, individual emancipation, the recovery of civil society, self-fulfillment, and 'the good life'."[46]

Expanding the notion of identity-building, Johnston et al state that they "often involve the emergence of new or formerly weak dimensions of identity."[47] More importantly, they suggest NSMs are more apt to mobilize around cultural

and symbolic issues related to their identity than to economic grievances (as was the case with the working-class movement). Whether Quebec separatists; members of the Basque or Catlan movement; ethnic movements of the former Soviet Union; or gay rights activists in most industrialized countries; they are described by NSM theorists as either having new identities or old identities formed along new lines.

They are, Johnston et al assert, "associated with a set of beliefs, symbols, values, and meanings related to sentiments of belonging to a differentiated social group; with the members' image of themselves; and with new, socially constructed attributions about the meaning of everyday life."[48] And just as they are not so concerned with economic grievance, nor are they preoccupied with traditional political strategy. Because new movements concern themselves with 'cultural innovation' attempting to bring about change through changing values and 'developing alternative life-styles', it begs the question: if it is not through the political system and political action that new movements hope to achieve their effects, then how? [49] In contrast to older movements, the new movements are "primarily social or cultural in nature and only secondarily, if at all, political... [t]heir concern is less with citizenship, and hence with political power, than with the cultural sphere, their focus being on values and life-styles." [50] Many suggest that it is their unique political strategy to promote their cultural symbols and identities that is the source of the NSMs significance.[51] Thus, many analysts of NSMs speak of the "politics of identity".

Identity Politics and the Reformation of Civil Society

> Much of the confusion around 'identity politics' reflects the 'nationalist,' 'fundi,' or 'culturalist' face of new social movements which valorizes difference, essentializes identity, and affirms the self.[52]

'The politics of identity' is a re-occurring and central concept in social movement literature describing NSMs. As early as 1969 sociologists such as Turner and Klapp were observing that "personal identity and personal transformation were increasingly themes of diffusely organized social movement organizations."[53] Turner, in what he called "identity seeking movements" (such as religious and self-help groups, and less organized trendy, collective behaviours), were attempting to "reclaim a self robbed of its identity."[54] "The new social movement perspective holds", summarize Johnston et al, that:

> [T]he collective search for identity is a central aspect of movement formation. Mobilization factors tend to focus on cultural and symbolic issues that are associated with sentiments of belonging to a differentiated social group where members can feel powerful; they are likely to have subcultural orientations that challenge the dominant system. New social movements are said to arise 'in defense of identity'.[55]

Acting to form 'identities in opposition to, and on the basis of, hegemonic socio-identities', the new movements are self-conscious about their role in developing identities which are: in resistance to processes of instrumental reason transmitted through "impersonal technocratic power" (Melucci);[56] devised against opponents, being a product of normative and cognitive conflict for the

control of a cultural field dominated by an adversary (Touraine)[57] and; in relation to "a general social identity whose interpretation they contest" (Cohen).[58]

"[P]erhaps the wisdom of the NSMs," it has been said, "lies in effecting social re-structuring around and under the state and capital, leading to an undermining of their traditional social foundations and creating a need for them to adapt to changed practices and circumstances."[59] Carrol and Ratner make this point abundantly clear:

> [New] movements may be viewed *prima facie* as agencies of contour-hegemony. By mobilizing resources and acting outside established political structures of state, parties and interest groups, [new] movements create independent organizational bases for advancing alternatives. By contesting the various discourses of capital, patriarchy, industrialism, racism, colonialism, and heterosexism, [new] movements destabilize the identities of compliant worker, subservient wife, closeted queer and the like, and create new ways of thinking about ourselves and the world around us.[60]

Thus, in part of this function of constructing new and oppositional forms of social and personal identity, they project a non-traditional, "non-statist programmatic vision for the reform of civil society."[61] What is allegedly so non-traditional in their approach is the "unprecedented politicization of previously nonpolitical terrains such as sexuality, interpersonal relations, lifestyle, and culture."[62]

Thus, the NSM project paints an image of new actors abandoning the epic war on the state and capital through labour and political parties to fight atomized guerrilla conflicts wherever the state intrudes into the autonomy of their personal identity space. Ensuring the rights of personal transformation becomes the new frontier in transforming civil society - this is one interpretation of 'the personal is

political'. NSMs do not plan to challenge the state directly but rather, to use Claus Offe's phrase (1980), NSMs "bypass the state". Their purpose is to "defend civil society against encroachment from the increasingly technocratic state" (Touraine) or to use a well known Habermas phrase, new movements defend civil society from "inner colonization by the society's technocratic substructure."[63] "New movements", Scott emphasizes, "are to be located within civil society."[64]

Distancing themselves from the state and traditional politics is seen by many as a condition of their success. Recalling Poulantzas' term 'relative autonomy', NSMs are said to purposely maintain an arms-length distance from the normal "corrupt" political processes. The "collective control of development" Melucci warns, "can only be secured by keeping open the space which separates a movement from a decision-making apparatus."[65] New movements still make revolutionary demands on state and capital decision-makers but they are revolutionary only because they are no longer demanding the complete displacement of leaders and structures. Their strategy then appears to seek the degree of power necessary for self-determination. In the case of 'ecological self-determination' however, the Green movement of Germany deemed it necessary to seek the power of a party. That is one interpretation at least. While the discussion will later turn to issues of strategy, it is now necessary to briefly analyze the next category of NSM characteristics: ideology.

Ideological Characteristics of New Movements

In effect, NSM aims reveal NSM ideology. As a result of the 'credibility crisis of the conventional channels for participation in Western democracies' state NSM theorists, new movements have successfully organized and proliferated in the past 30 years. With contempt for traditional mass parties, NSMs have created considerable distance and autonomy from political parties with whom working-class movements used to align themselves. This ideological and 'democratic crisis' has in many ways motivated the search for new and alternative forms of collective participation and decision making. And when describing the new 'subject in whose name the movement acts and articulates its demands', it is defined so in wider terms than social class. The new subject is defined across class boundaries (be they women, Blacks, gays or students) and in fact these non-class agents replace class as the primary political force. On this point Carl Boggs states: "[s]ocial movements can no longer be understood as secondary to class struggle or as tangential expressions of an assumed 'primary contradiction'; they have a logic and momentum of their own that needs to be spelled out theoretically."[66]

Transcending Class Structures

As much an issue of constituency as it is of ideology, Johnston et al suggest that the social base of NSMs transcend class structure.[67] Taking issue with a basic tenant, if not sacred cow, of most Marxist explanations, the structural roles of most participants of any given NSM come from diverse social

statuses such as youth, gender, sexual orientation, or professions.[68] Furthermore, unlike the working-class movement where the Marxist concept of ideology acts as a 'unifying and totalizing element for collective action': NSMs are much more pluralistic in terms of their ideas and values; "tend to have pragmatic orientations; and search for institutional reforms that enlarge the systems of members' participation in decision making."[69] Movements in the past, especially in Europe, were characterized by polarized 'overarching ideologies' be they: conservative or liberal; right or left; capitalist or socialist. Larana suggests these movements play an important political role in Western societies which he calls enlarging the "democratization dynamic" or the "civil versus political dimensions" of everyday life.[70]

Related to the concepts of autonomy and civil rights, a third broad ideological theme of NSMs is anti-authoritarianism - that is, "their stress on grass-roots action and suspicion of institutionalized forms of political activity - especially their suspicion of institutionalization of social movements, such as the workers' movement into trade unions, social democratic parties, etc."[71] New movements distrust representative democracy because of its oligarchical tendencies and because it "weighs power in favour of the representatives who enjoy extensive autonomy, and away from those they represent, who must, by and large, rely on the integrity of those who act in their name and call on their, largely passive, support."[72] Anti-authoritarianism re-locates the focus towards direct or grass-roots democracy and critiques not only existing social institutions,

but also social movements which have surrendered to institutionalized politics evidenced by large bureaucracies and oligarchical structures.

Another aspect of NSM ideology is characterized by what Scott calls a common "societal critique."[73] Here, new movements converge in their critique of specific features or objects in society which are in the greatest need of being changed. The women's movement for example would target patriarchy; the Black movement, racism; the ecology movement, industrialism; all of which are historically and culturally broader than the workers' movement concept of capitalism. The last category of NSM characteristics to be analyzed is their organizational forms.

Organizational Forms of New Movements

> Compared with organizations such as political parties and unions, new social movement organizations are thought to remain relatively loose and informal. This tendency is reinforced by their anti-authoritarianism ideology.[74]

Scott summarizes the main characteristics of the organizational form said to be observed in NSMs. They are:

> (1) [L]ocally based, or centered on small groups; (2) organized around specific, often local, issues; (3) characterized by a cycle of social movement activity and mobilization, i.e. vacillation between periods of high and low activity (the latter often taking the form of a disbandment, temporarily or permanently, of the organization); (4) where the movement constructs organizations which bridge periods of high activity they tend to feature fluid hierarchies and loose systems of authority; (5) shifting membership and fluctuation numbers.[75]

In what is called the "self-referential element", NSMs "tend to be segmented, diffuse and decentralized" in contrast to "cadre-led and centralized

bureaucracies of traditional mass parties."[76] Melucci captures the essence of these 'diffuse and decentralized' NSMs:

> The [new] movements are rooted in micro-organizations at work, in political clubs, in churches, in sport, in support and counseling centres, in spontaneous action groups, and in cultural projects - these are the signs of 'networks composed of a multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented, and submerged in everyday life'; of 'short-term and reversible commitment, multiple leadership, temporary and ad hoc organizational structure'.[77]

Although there is considerable variation within movement types, the trend is for local sections to practice considerable autonomy in relation to their regional and national organizations especially when it concerns collective forms of debate and decision making. Claus Offe portrays another side of their autonomy suggesting that new movements are 'informal, ad hoc, discontinuous, context-sensitive, and egalitarian' without central programs or leaders who can be held responsible for their actions.[78] Pointing to their ultimate purpose, Adam conjures a bellicose metaphor, "like guerrilla warriors, the new social movements have developed low-cost, relatively effective, decentralized methods of outflanking a centralized, extraordinarily expensive, high-tech adversary."[79]

Some critics have suggested that talk of autonomy, withdrawal and cultural politics as ends of NSM activity demonstrates a defensiveness against the historical susceptibility of social movements towards co-optation by conservative forces, typically by the state or capital.[80] Scott insists that autonomy is as much an aspect of NSM demands as an organizational form and cites three areas of autonomy which can be identified: the personal; the "political"; and

"autonomy of struggle."[81] Personal autonomy seems obvious given the consciousness raising themes of many new movements which aim to liberate individual members from personal and ideological barriers. A quintessential example is the liberation of individual women from their personal oppression through the psycho-social practice of reconstructing their life histories. "Within the small group" Sheila Rowbotham states, "it has been important that every woman has space and air for her feelings and ideas to grow."[82] Political autonomy refers to the extension of personal autonomy by challenging a given or *de facto* restriction on freedom such as abortion on demand or removal of racial hiring barriers. Finally, when NSMs demand to fight their own battles without interference or demands from other movements they are said to be insisting on autonomy of struggle.

Probably one of the most prolific organizational traits of NSMs is the gender of their constituents. Women, more than ever before, heavily populate the ranks of social movements. Judith Hellman speculates on the cause of this phenomenon:

> Perhaps the most compelling attraction that [NSMs] hold for many researchers is the heavy representation of women in both the ranks and the leadership of these groups. It is difficult to establish whether the new movements are more democratic because they include more women or if they attract more women because they are less hierarchical. In either case, the participation of that half of the population that is conspicuously absent from traditional political organizations is a common characteristic of the new movements and a large part of what marks them as 'new'.[83]

Another characteristic of NSM organizational form is the blurred relation between the individual and the collective. Sometimes a movement is more "acted out" in the individual lifestyles of the members than through the collective efforts among a mobilized group. "Another way of thinking about the same phenomena" Johnston et al suggest, "is that in and through movements that have no clear or structural base, the movement becomes the focus for the individual's definition of himself of herself, and action within the movement is a complex mix of the collective and individual confirmations of identity."[84] Not only do the members form the identity of the whole but the whole, in accordance with all its symbols and culture, is lived out in the private lives of the members giving them their identity by association. Student movements and numerous countercultural groups, such as the 'hippies', are early examples of this type of collective action.

Another organizational form feature that Johnston et al say is common to NSMs are their "radical mobilization tactics of disruption and resistance that differ from those practiced by the working-class movement."[85] Influenced by the teachers of nonviolence and civil disobedience such as Gandhi, Thoreau and Kropotkin, these new movements often practice dramatic new mobilization patterns that are uncommon to the more violent strategies of working-class movements.

Having described, if ever so simplistically, some of the more prominent characteristics of NSMs from primarily NSM perspectives and text, we will now

briefly examine some of the varied criticism leveled against NSMs. The following discussion will assist us, through contrast and comparison, to understand and appreciate some of the more important issues and nuances in the complicated process of analyzing contemporary social movements. To use their own words, NSM theorist Jelin states:

> [I]t is the researcher who proposes the reading of a set of practices as a social movement... Social Movements are objects constructed by the researcher, which do not necessarily coincide with the empirical form of collective action. Seen from the outside, they may present a certain degree of unity, but internally they are always heterogeneous, diverse...[86]

Criticism of New Social Movements

Before embarking on an overview of NSM criticism, it should be mentioned that there is some acceptance among most social movement theorists that the more general claims of NSM theory are correct in that:

> [T]he participation of a plurality of political actors is necessary to effect fundamental social change, that no one source of power/domination unifies all forms of subordination, that no one political party can represent all social interests...or that it is preferable for critical and socialist theorists to conceive of civil society as a terrain to be democratized, rather than abolished.[87]

Having surrendered those admissions however, the different camps part company. Some critics claim that NSM theorists are too distanced from either the practical perspective of contemporary social movements or the historical self-understanding of the movements themselves. Criticism of this genre is most often leveled against European NSM theorists who have focused on the "culture

of defence" approach.[88] Epstein for one criticizes what they have not been doing:

> [T]he intellectual purpose of their debates has less to do with the movements themselves than with Marxism... [T]he New Social Movement theorists have produced very little in the way of concrete studies of the movements to which they refer in the course of theoretical debate. The absence of a vital intellectual connection to the new social movements, the fact these theorists understand themselves as developing theory more about than for the movements, leaves [NSM] theory open to blind spots about these movements, and gives it, overall, a certain academic cast.[89]

Especially since 1990 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, there has been a marked escalation of dialogue and controversy regarding the specific role of socialist and Marxist thought in social movement theory. The discourse from NSM theorists has failed to acknowledge the role of social movements in the history of socialism states Weir who clarifies that, "a new and sudden challenge to socialism of the postwar period they are not."[90] Their claims she asserts, "suffer from believing an orthodox Marxist reading of social movement history rather than relying upon the work of social and political historians."[91] Other critics suggest their analysis is so void of any analysis of political economy that NSM theorists do a disservice by inhibiting a clear understanding of social movement. Barry D. Adam states in *Post-Marxism and the NSMs*:

> [C]ontemporary social theory continues to impede assessment of the new social movements by separating them from questions of political economy and by placing them on the side of 'culture', thereby denying ways in which the origins, identities, and development of subordinated categories of people remain fully rooted in the dynamics of advanced capitalism.[92]

What NSM theorists have been doing state the critics, is reducing social movement history and socialist history into simplistic orthodox terms and trite binarisms such as "old" and "new".

The Problem of Novelty

Social movements some say, are better understood in cycles or clusters 'interspersed with periods of dormancy' where it might be possible to identify shared features of the current cycle.[93] It appears however that with time, more and more scholars of social movements from all sides are becoming dissatisfied with the 'old-new' dichotomy surrounding NSMs because it unnecessarily confuses the understanding of social movements in general.

The word 'new' neglects the truth that the organizational form and historical roots of most contemporary social movements were first found in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, some members of the feminist, gay rights, and anti-racism movements themselves make claims of legitimacy on the very basis of their historical continuity. As Weir suggests, for NSM theorists "to establish the novelty of contemporary social movements in contrast to nineteenth and earlier twentieth century social movements, it would be necessary to engage in detailed comparative analysis of individual movements to reveal common, new patterns."[94] Weir finds Jean Cohen the most reluctant of NSM theorists to categorize contemporary movements as 'new' in her article "*Strategy or Identity*" when she states:

> Yet whether there really is something significantly new about these movements and what the theoretical or political impact of the innovations are, remains unclear. Indeed, there is little agreement

> among theorists in the field as to just what a *movement* is, what would qualify as a *new type* of movement, and what the meaning of *social movement* as distinct from political party or interest group might be.[95]

Almost all NSM theorists share a common faulty logic to account for social movement novelty states Weir. They do so by:

> 1) [Reducing] pre-World War II social movements to workers' movements and vanguardist/social democratic parties;
> 2) [the] development of empirical generalizations contrasting pre-World War II social movements with postwar NSMs - a set of binary oppositions;
> 3) [explaining] the resulting contrast between pre-World War II and postwar social movements by social structural changes characterizing Western European and North American states of the postwar era. The first and second parts of the argument permit the characterization of contemporary social movements as historically novel and ascribe to them a discrete set of social characteristics; the third part provides an explanation of the novelty.[96]

While Weir considers the first two points to be, at the very least, dubious, she states the third point is a tautological argument:

> [S]ocial movements are new by definition since the historical period is new... In this last step contemporary social movements are derived from structural changes of the postwar/postfordist/postindustrial period through the mediation of mystical connectives; the purportedly aggregate characteristics of contemporary social movements, such as identity and cultural politics, are mysteriously linked to particular structural changes... Little empirical or analytical investigation joins the structural level of argument, regarding a new historicity, with the abstract characterization of the processes thought to be typical of contemporary social movement.[97]

As Weir states, "in order to claim these as 'new' the argument must become historical, longitudinal and comparative."[98] "In simply asserting the novelty of contemporary social movements without providing historical comparison", Weir

charges, "NSM theorists engage in an invalid logic and seriously underestimate the complexity of social movement history."[99] Finally, Weir insists the only thing really new in NSMs is the fact "that the 'workers' movement is simply no longer the organizationally dominant social movement."[100] Related to the question of novelty of NSMs is the question of taxonomy.

A Stretched Taxonomy

If not all, *which* social movements are classified in the 'new social movement' category? Given their immense diversity, numerous critics find a general lack of specificity when it comes to categorizing every social movement after 1968 as 'new'.[101] Adam for example finds Laclau and Mouffe equally culpable of ignoring labour's internal diversity and movement strategy in their critique of traditional Marxian analyses as they are of reducing every movement, such as the feminist struggle, to have the class interests of the 'new middle class'.[102] "Combining highly professionalized and well-financed international organizations like Greenpeace with spontaneist street activists like Queer Nation greatly hampers the coherence of [NSM] theory" Adam states, "none of these 'movements' is singular or unitary in analysis, strategy, or objectives."[103]

Scott concurs when he observes, "heterogeneity [amongst present social movements] produces problems in, and limitations to, the development of new social movements into the kind of [single] coherent oppositional force which analysts and some social movement members hope or expect."[104] One of Scott's major arguments in his book *Ideology and the New Social Movements*, is that

social movements are so diverse in their ideologies and in the nature of their demands that they cannot possibly be explained with any singular theory no matter how encompassing. Alain Touraine's work is especially fingered out in Scott's critique:

> I have suggested that the macro-level theories of new social movements assume a degree of homogeneity in movement form and ideology. In the case of Touraine, it seems clear that he is seeking some social movement which is broad enough to synthesize elements of existing oppositional movements into a coherent ideological and practical challenge to the values and structure of post-industrial society. In other words the fundamental motivation of much of the theory of social movements within sociology remains essentially Marcusian in inspiration, that is, it is a search for some substitute for the working class, for a new focus of opposition to society in its totality.[105]

Issues of heterogeneity also create problems in using the organizational form as a criterion in identifying NSMs. Because there is such a vast distance from loose to tight organization on the social movement continuum, and because there has been a substantial number of social movements which have experienced a 'progression' or shift towards the more formal and hierarchical forms of organization, Scott suggests that grouping these movements as 'new' on the basis of organizational form is unsatisfactory. Another key unsatisfactory issue for NSM critics is NSM interpretation of Marxist theory.

Whither to Marx?

> Upon the increasingly exposed but once taken-for-granted, prerequisites of modern capitalist development, has arisen a heterogeneous and discontinuous array of social movements with an unfamiliar relationship to the usual parameters of production and distribution. Several trends in contemporary social theory, both 'inside' and 'outside' Marxism, moved to assess the displacement and proliferation of social conflicts on the multiple sites apparently

> exemplified by the [NSMs]. The thesis here remains that much of 'new' theorizing around these issues has too quickly abandoned the direct engagement of, for example, problems of race, gender, and ecology with the dynamics of state and capital.[106]

Since the 1960s various historical developments have created numerous dilemmas in Marxian thinking. These developments include:

> [T]he reign of New Right governments in the major advanced capitalist powers, the ossification and collapse of Soviet bureaucratic regimes operating in the name of Marxism, the rise and persistence of social movements ostensibly organized around non-class issues, and the preoccupation of contemporary political discourse with questions of gender, race, ecology, and a plethora of 'particularistic' issues.[107]

Some of the dilemmas arising out of these developments include interpreting: the theoretical role of the working class; the almost virtual disappearance of the 'mythical revolutionary break'; and the proliferation of "contemporary mobilizations of people around multiple categories of subordination."[108] Andre Gorz for example has observed the global impact of increasing under- and unemployment which is creating a widening schism between a relatively privileged class of workers and the ever increasing masses without (enough) work who are excluded from the means of production altogether.[109] In another equally problematic dilemma, because of great limitations of state-directed change, even well-engineered revolutions are faced with insurmountable problems of internal/external exigencies as well as rigid global and local hierarchies. After extensive reappraisal, revolutionary movements such as the African National Congress and the Salvadoran Farabundo Marti National

Liberation Front had to employ pragmatic strategies of inclusion and abandon their attempts to seize the state.

Addressing another dilemma, Immanuel Wallerstein has commented about the increased categories of alienation and subordination *outside* of the Marxian working class: "[a]fter 1968, none of the 'other' groups in struggle neither women nor racial 'minorities' nor sexual 'minorities' nor the handicapped nor the 'ecologists'... would ever again accept the legitimacy of 'waiting' upon some other revolution."[110] In effect, labour markets have been splintered with alienation being articulated around identities of being female, African-Canadian, gay, aboriginal, etc. as well as 'worker'. In Habermas' words:

> [A]scriptive characteristics such as gender, age, skin colour, neighbourhood or locality, and religious affiliation serve to build up and separate off communities supportive of the search for personal and collective identity... all this is meant to foster the revitalization of possibilities for expression and communication that have been buried alive.[111]

The new constituents of these non-class or, as many say, "new class" social movements speak for themselves Touraine suggests, when they claim, "we no longer demand to direct the course of things; we simply claim our freedom, the right to be ourselves without being crushed by the apparatuses of power, violence, and propaganda."[112] Touraine further remarks that in the post-industrial era the class that confronts 'the faceless dominant' is both marginalized and legion:

> From the industrial era we have inherited the image of two opponents, the capitalists versus the working class, confronting each other on a ground and with weapons that are those of the ruling class... Today, on the contrary, the image that prevails is that

> of an impersonal and integrating central apparatus that controls, beyond a 'service class,' a silent majority, and scattered around the latter are a number of excluded, confined, underprivileged, or even denied, minorities.[113]

Since the departure with the traditional working class in most NSM analysis, reactions range from Marxist retrenchment to a complete disposal of political economy history suggesting that NSMs are first and foremost, evidence of a global shift toward 'postmaterialist values'. Critics suggest that within this great tide of discourse there has been an unnecessary polarization of views. "What has been missing from the too-strictly drawn opposition between Marxism and new social movement theory" Adam submits, "is an understanding of the ways in which the dynamics of capitalist development are directly engaged with the production and reproduction of ostensibly non-economic systems of domination and inferiorization."[114] Socialist feminism for example has continued to move beyond an "analysis which, on the one hand, postulates patriarchy and capitalism as parallel systems in an uneasy and inexplicable 'marriage' and, on the other hand, collapses sexism into an epiphenomenal effect of the reproduction of capital."[115]

Weak Links with Labour

Addressing a NSM strategic weakness, neo-Gramscians insist that while "radical democratic insurgency cannot assume linear progress grounded primarily in labour struggles... neither can the new social movements neglect to forge links with labour, lest they be reduced to marginal expressions of protest."[116] Carl Boggs has condemned this same theoretical propensity towards

polarization in *Social Movements and Political Power*, "[s]ocial transformation in the west will require a confluence of labour struggles and popular movements... fundamentally new departures would be impossible without the reconstitution of both labour and the new movements in their present form."[117] On this point of confluence and reconstitution, Leslie Sklair has contributed several valuable insights.

After Sklair's extensive research with social movements and globalization including the review of such highly recommended works as Gail Omvedt's *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India* (1993); Verity Burgmann's *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society* (1993) and; Brecher and Costello's *Building Bridges: The Emerging Grassroots Coalition of Labor and Community* (1990), Sklair suggests that "NSM theory needs to rethink the dichotomy between *labour movement* and *new social movement*."[118] Sklair states two key factors have been overlooked in NSM theory, namely the organizational question (within the changing nature of global capitalism) and the globalization question. Concerning the organizational question, based on the premise of Piven and Cloward's study (1979), Sklair emphasizes that the success of a movement is more dependent on its ability to disrupt than its 'organizational prowess'. "Collective defiance is the key to social movements," Sklair says, "[t]he reason why movements fail is to be found in the capacity of the authorities to divert their disruptive force into normal politics,

usually with collaboration of the movement organizers."[119] Put more explicitly, and quoting Burgmann in *Building Bridges* (1990), Sklair notes:

> The relative purity of the leaders of new social movements attests not to their moral superiority but their relative powerlessness... You cannot sell out if you have nothing to sell... The corruptibility of the labour movement is evidence of its real political power, for 'good or evil' (Burgmann, 1993:264). And when NSM[s] are seen to have power, they too can sell out.[120]

The second factor stems from a dilemma caused by a key process of globalization: "[i]ncreasingly, as capitalism globalizes, subordinate groups find difficulty in identifying their adversaries... while contemporary capitalism is organized globally, it can only be resisted locally."[121] Sklair then emphasizes Piven and Cloward's point that 'people cannot defy institutions to which they have no access, and to which they make no contribution'. Given the increasingly global hegemonic success of capital, local labour struggle remains one of the few available means by which people can actually disrupt and resist. But like many of the other critics, Sklair also states that the labour movement needs to be rethought and reinvented. Both the labour and NSM camps need to advance from their self-proclaimed superior theoretical position in history. As Carroll and Ratner suggest, "the claim that contemporary social movements now occupy centerstage is as dubious as the counter-claim that these movements can be unproblematically reduced to bit players in the drama of class struggle."[122]

The Undeniable Centrality of the State

Not only is the role of labour overlooked, critics insist that "the state is a primary and unavoidable agent in the reproduction of relations of domination in

race, gender, sexuality, and environment and the new social movements struggle actively to block and re-make these mechanisms of subordination."[123] These movements Adam states, "act toward the state *defensively*, in protesting police violence, fending off state intervention in community affairs, and asserting the right to control one's own body, and *offensively,* in demanding human rights guarantees, social benefits, domestic partners' rights, wheelchair accessibility, or environmental regulation."[124]

Capitalism: The Totality that Totalizes

Carroll and Ratner, along with Sklair and others, insist that capitalism remains the dominant structure in the contemporary world and that:

> In contrast to other structures that also entail deep-seated relations of domination, such as the sex/gender system that sustains patriarchy and heterosexism, or the instrumentalist domination of nature that has been basic to both capitalism and state socialism, capitalism has the unique feature of being *a totality that totalizes.*[125]

Capitalism, once fully established, is a totality in the sense that it creates its own suppositions and more importantly has a totalizing character being able to reproduce itself on an extended scale.[126] Some then suggest that the struggle for socialism can be a vision that breaks with the 'workerism' of orthodox Marxism but does not necessarily need to be anti-class as it seeks to *resist* capital. Carroll and Ratner comment on that important distinction:

> As the twentieth century draws to a close and as capital now fully encircles the globe while penetrating the everyday worlds of most of humanity, this totalizing dynamic has generated a great variety of negative effects that can still give a socialist meaning and identity to various forms of resistance... the struggle for socialism remains central to counter-hegemonic politics, but that struggle should not be viewed as the predestined mission of exploited

> workers. Rather, the 'unifying principle of socialism' may not be *class*, but *resistance to capital*... Social movements may or may not align themselves with some aspect of working-class identity, but in any case capitalism's totalizing dynamic is likely to be a common extra discursive factor in the multiform struggles.[127]

Most of the NSM literature Adam suggests falls short in three areas: [they] underplay the salience of political economy for the development of [NSM] identities and activities; ignore the diversity of the [NSMs] both among themselves and internally; and become caught up in the claim of 'newness' of the 'new' social movements and the attendant claim of postmodernism. He then points out that NSM theorizing "needs to recognize that the differentiation and formation of subordinated categories of people are both part of and apart from the political economy of advanced capitalism."[128] Stated more clearly (and previously):

> [C]ontemporary social theory continues to impede assessment of the new social movements by separating them from questions of political economy and by placing them on the side of 'culture,' thereby denying ways in which the origins, identities, and development of subordinated categories of people remain fully rooted in the dynamics of advanced capitalism.[129]

But some caution that just as "there are trends in post-Marxist and new social movement discourses which both retain *too little* Marxian analysis, thereby abandoning the salience of the modern world system in contemporary social change," there are others "which retain *too much* Marxism in their search for new referents for old categories."[130] The debate continues with most suggesting it means more than just striking a balance between Marxism and post-Marxism.

But there are other debates as well concerning the classification, identity politics, autonomy, and civil role of NSMs.

Questioning Identity Politics

That new movements refashion individual and collective identities on a scale not found in pre-World War II movements is false submits Weir. In fact, Weir insists it is difficult to find *any* nineteenth or twentieth century movement, save some sectors of the labour movement, "which did not in their daily practices attempt to subvert hegemonic social identities."[131] Although the concept of "identity politics" and the formation of collective identities is such a central axis in NSM theory, numerous critics suggest it is still theoretically undeveloped. Adams states:

> Lacking theoretical specificity, the concept of identity remains an elusive hunch in need of elaboration, particularly a more developed social semiotic treatment. Recent work in discourse theory and social psychology would assist in theorizing identity, but the literature on new social movements has thus far resisted such obvious intertextuality... It may be the case that contemporary social movements differ from earlier ones in their modes of constructing oppositional subjectivities or their degree of concentration on subjectivity, but no evidence for such change has yet been supplied.[132]

Yet another problem in NSM theory is the issue of autonomy and civil society. The supposedly unique demands for autonomy among NSMs creates several problems for critics. In distinguishing themselves from prior movements as a result of their demands for autonomy rather than citizenship, new movement theorists oversimplify the ambiguous relation between personal/group demands for autonomy and politics. As C. Wright Mills suggested, 'personal

troubles' will eventually be associated with 'public issues.'[133] Scott specifically addresses this type of reductionism, "many demands, even for personal autonomy, are also for political demands in a conventional sense. Free abortion on demand, for example, may be couched in the language of autonomy or choice, but it is still a demand on resources, and thus on the state."[134] As American black civil rights activist Bayard Rustin said, "economic reform is a political problem and the only means of achieving this reform, short of resorting to totalitarian means, is through political organization."[135]

As most perceived collective needs and problems in civil society will eventually require the state's attention which requires political organization, discussions of autonomy must necessarily be relative. So while it is true that present movements do emphasize personal values, autonomy and life-style issues, they do not satisfy many critics that their political practices, especially of civil rights movements and the like, are that unique or distinct from conventional social movement practice. Most obviously, civil rights movements, or any movement involved with civil rights are:

> [C]learly orientated towards central political institutions, particularly towards governments or the legal system. They demand a recognition on the part of society to formal and substantive equality for sections of the population, and respect for the rights of members of those sections to equal treatment not as individuals but as *citizens*.[136]

Other critics insist that NSM theorists are not even informed enough to identify how many contemporary social movements actually interact with political institutions.

NSMs in Civil Society

In this prolonged debate concerning the role of the NSM in civil society, NSMs it is postulated, are located in civil society and are singularly oriented towards cultural (as opposed to economic) struggle attempting to neither overthrow nor participate in the state. But Canadian social movements Weir suggests, provide one of the best examples of contemporary movements that make significant oppositional demands on the state. In such areas as abortion, daycare, equal pay, violence against women as well as state funding for social service and advocacy groups, Canadian feminist groups have made a variety of demands on every level of government. Organizing for AIDS has precipitated numerous confrontations between gay/lesbian movements with "ministries of health, the medical profession and pharmaceutical companies on funding for AIDS education, support services to people living with AIDS, drug release protocols, and the ethics and design of clinical trials."[137] For their part, ecology organizations have made countless claims on the state for more "rigorous pollution standards, independent scientific research, better enforcement of existing legislation, more international agreements protecting the environment, the banning of clear-cut logging and an end to nuclear arms testing."[138]

Thus to characterize current social movements by their novel interest in civil society is problematic. Not only do contemporary social movements actively challenge and engage the state but prior movements also targeted civil society to meet their demands. NSM theorists Weir says, are guilty of 'reducing earlier

social movements to trade unions and socialist parties' and understanding them as embodiments of Marxian orthodoxy. Both the American and English anti-slavery movements, as well as the international Woman Movement during the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, mounted significant campaigns to transform civil society politics whether it was to increase tolerance or decrease sexual violence.[139] Pressing the point further, John Keane has remarked, socialism itself grew out of new associational forms within civil society; socialism "originated in social movements which invented new forms of local participation within the interstices of civil society - the co-operative, the trade union branch, the friendly society and the publishing collective."[140] Confronting the NSM project handling of autonomy and civil society directly, Scott possibly provides the clearest interpretation of contemporary movement demands: "[b]ut what we see here is not a retreat from the political sphere, but an extension of politics to cover a wider range of concerns and social relations. In the context of this wider sense of citizenship, it is no longer possible to separate political issues neatly from other movements' concerns."[141]

Weir states that unlike many others, Keane and Scott try not to create "false antitheses" in explaining the characteristics of present social movements. Keane holds that contemporary social movements struggle for the democratization of both state and civil society. In what she calls a neo-Weberian approach, Scott views current social movements as challenging processes of 'social closure'. Scott quotes Parkin's definition of social closure as "the process

by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restructuring access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles."[142] There are two consistent patterns of activity Scott analyzes of social movements which contest social closure; "the expansion of citizenship," and "the insertion of excluded groups in to the polity" dominated by elite groupings and negotiations.[143] "[N]ew movements" Scott states "carry on this project of older movements in a vital aspect: they open up the political sphere, they articulate popular demands and they politicize issues previously confined to the private realm."[144]

Summary

The discussion began by briefly examining the innumerable types of social movements that were given the appellation 'new social movements' in the period following 1968. This was followed by a lengthier discussion analyzing and comparing Marxist and NSM class analysis which centered on the noticeable absence of the workers' movement in NSMs. Next we investigated the allegedly postindustrialist/postmodernist origins of NSMs which focused on cultural reactions of defence to a bureaucratic state and impersonal, modern capitalist society. This expanded the discussion to look at unique issues of "identity politics" and the reformation of civil society which were central characteristics of NSMs best described by their aims and demands, their ideologies, and their organizational forms. Finally we reviewed the wide assortment of criticism of NSMs which brought into serious question the methodological process, the Marxist interpretations, the loose classification

structure as well as interpretations of identity politics and civil reform. The sum of all the criticism is that NSM theories are inadequate in their approach in trying to explain contemporary social movements.

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[1] Carroll and Ratner, 1993: p. 3
[2] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 3
[3] Friedman, 1993: p. 11
[4] Habermas,1981: p. 34 in "*NSMs*" Telos 51, Fall 1981
[5] Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: p. 1
[6] Boggs, 1986: p. 39-40
[7] Weir, 1993; Scott, 1990
[8] West and Blumberg, 1990: p. 161
[9] Offe, 1987: p. 73
[10] Bahro, 1984 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 92
[11] Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: p. 159
[12] Weir, 1993: p. 73
[13] Weir, Ibid.
[14] Giddens, 1973: p. 35 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 57
[15] Scott, 1990: p. 60
[16] Alberto Melucci on the Touraine's perspective of social movements. Melucci, 1981: p. 192 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 17
[17] Scott, Ibid. p. 61
[18] Touraine, 1981: p. 61 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 61
[19] Touraine, 1981: p. 58 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 61
[20] Touraine, Ibid. p. 68 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 61
[21] Touraine, Ibid. p.66 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 62
[22] Touraine, Ibid. p. 77 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 62
[23] Scott, 1990: p. 63
[24] Touraine, 1981, p. 31 as quoted in Scott, Ibid. p. 62 Italics original.
[25] Scott, 1990: p. 18
[26] Scott, Ibid. p. 19
[27] Scott, Ibid. p. 15
[28] Adam, 1993: p. 329
[29] Hirsch, 1988 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 21
[30] Melucci, 1989: p. 177-78 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 16 Italics not original.
[31] Inglehart ,1990: p. 347 as quoted in Johnston et al, 1994: p. 11
[32] Scott, 1990: p. 66
[33] MacDermid and Stevenson, 1991: p. 1
[34] "*The NSMs: A Theoretical Approach,*" Social Science Information, 1980: pp. 204-5 as quoted in Weir, Ibid: p.80
[35] Laclau and Mouffe, Ibid. p. 164 as quoted in Weir, Ibid. p. 74
[36] Habermas, 1987: p. 343 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 77
[37] Habermas, Ibid. p. 394 as quoted in Scott, Ibid.
[38] Patton, 1988 and Seidman, 1991 as quoted by Carroll and Ratner, 1994: p. 6-7
[39] Boggs, 1986: p. 174 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 321
[40] Kitschelt, 1985: p. 29
[41] Melucci, 1980 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 16
[42] Weir, 1993: p. 78
[43] Scott, 1990: p. 16
[44] Scott, Ibid.
[45] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 8

[46] Hirsch, 1988: p. 50 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 322
[47] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 8
[48] Johnston et al, Ibid.
[49] Scott, 1990: p. 17
[50] Scott, 1990: p. 16
[51] Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Foweraker and Craig 1990; Johnston et al 1994; Scott 1990
[52] Adam, 1993: p. 329
[53] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 10
[54] as quoted in Johnston et al: Ibid.
[55] Johnston et al, Ibid. p. 10
[56] Melucci, 1988: p. 245-247 as quoted in Weir, Ibid. p.82
[57] Touraine, 1987: p.80-85 as quoted in Weir, Ibid.
[58] Cohen, 1985: p. 694 as quoted in Weir, Ibid.
[59] author unknown
[60] Carroll and Ratner, 1994: p. 6
[61] Weir, 1993: p. 81
[62] Kaufmann, 1990: p. 60
[63] Habermas, 1987 as quoted in Scott, Ibid. p. 77
[64] Scott, 1990: p. 17
[65] Melucci, 1982: p. 191 as quoted in Scott, Ibid.
[66] Boggs, 1986: p. 62 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 29
[67] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 6
[68] Klandermans and Oegema, 1987 as quoted in Johnston et al, 1994: p. 6
[69] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 7
[70] Johnston et al, Ibid.
[71] Scott, 1990: p. 27
[72] Scott, Ibid.
[73] Scott, Ibid. p. 29
[74] Scott, Ibid. p. 31-2
[75] Scott, 1990: p. 30
[76] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 9
[77] Melucci, 1989; p. 60 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 331
[78] Offe, 1985:p. 826-31 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 334
[79] Adam, 1993: p. 328
[80] Offe, 1985: p. 861; Hirsch, 1988: p. 53; Sivanandan, 1989: p. 89
[81] Scott, 1990: p. 20
[82] Rowbotham, 1979: p. 40 as quoted in Scott, Ibid.
[83] Hellman, 1992: p. 54-5
[84] Johnston et al, 1994: p. 8
[85] Johnston et al, Ibid.
[86] Jelin, 1986: p. 22
[87] Weir, 1993: p. 76
[88] In this case they are typically being compared to American social scientists who have allegedly been more practical in their investigation of the mechanics of new movements through the resource mobilization theory and the relative deprivation theory.
[89] Epstein, 1990: p. 30 as quoted in Weir: Ibid. p. 75
[90] Weir, 1993: p. 74
[91] Weir, Ibid. p. 81
[92] Adam, 1993: p. 316
[93] For example, in *The Rebellious Century, 1830 - 1930* Charles, Louise and Richard Tilly document the various stages of "action repertoires" of collective protest in Western Europe from 1830 - 1930. Until approximately the end of the eighteenth century, "competitive" forms of collective protest, described as making "attacks on the resources of the other", dominated in society. Eventually, movements shifted to being more "reactive" whereby they both seized resources and resisted seizure of their resources until finally into the early twentieth century,

primarily "proactive" types, which seized resources and justified seizure as legitimate, came to the forefront. Tilly et al, 1975: p. 249 as quoted in Weir, Ibid. p. 74.

[94] Weir, 1993: p. 81Ibid.

[95] Cohen, 1985: p. 63 as quoted in Weir,1993: p. 82. Italics original.

[96] Weir, Ibid. p. 80

[97] Weir, Ibid. p. 81

[98] Weir, 1993: p. 74

[99] Ibid. The only NSM text that Weir manages to find with a comparative historical analysis that "reveals common patterns" in social movements is *Antisystemic Movements* by Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein. However, she chastises them for oversimplifying the contrast between NSMs and nineteenth/early twentieth century movements which were supposedly of two types - national struggles for ethnocultural self-determination and social movements reactive to proletarianization.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Adam, 1993; Scott, 1990; Weir, 1993.

[102] Adam, 1993: p. 322-3

[103] Ibid.

[104] Scott, 1990: p. 32

[105] Ibid. p. 80

[106] Adam, 1993: p. 318

[107] Ibid. p. 332

[108] Ibid. p. 319

[109] Gorz as found in Adam, Ibid. p.319

[110] Wallerstein, 1989: p. 439

[111] Habermas, 1987: p. 395

[112] Touraine, 1988: p. 18 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 322

[113] Touraine, 1988: p. 122 as quoted in Adam, 1993: p. 320

[114] Adam, 1993: p. 324

[115] Ibid.

[116] Carroll and Ratner, 1994: p. 16

[117] Boggs, 1986: p. 230

[118] Sklair, 1995, p. 498 Italics original

[119] Sklair, Ibid.

[120] Sklair, Ibid.

[121] Sklair, Ibid. p. 499

[122] Carroll and Ratner, 1994: p. 16

[123] Donzelot, 1979; Leiss, 1979; Omi and Winant, 1986; Kinsman, 1987; Connell, 1990 as quoted by Adam, 1993 p. 327

[124] Adam, 1993: p. 327

[125] Carroll and Ratner, 1994: p. 17

[126] Carroll and Ratner, Ibid.

[127] Carroll and Ratner, Ibid. p. 18

[128] Adam, 1993: p. 325

[129] Adam, Ibid. p. 316

[130] Adam, 1993: p. 317

[131] Weir, 1993: p. 84 Weir cites several examples as evidence that the "link between identity politics and social movements has been integral" to most pre-World War II antisystemic social movements. *The Making of the English Working Class* by E. P. Thompson, focused on the formation of working class identity prior to 1830 which emphasized the "cultural formation of the English working class in new ways of acting, thinking and feeling. Ibid. p. 84. The largest social movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Canada was the Temperance Movement which laid siege to transform personal identities and social subjectivities in attempting to create a new (albeit religious) man/woman. Ibid. Finally, African-Americans W. E. DuBois and Marcus Garvey wrote extensively in 1903 how the American Negro must form a "double-

consciousness between their American nationality and their racial consciousness" reflecting the self-reflexive, oppositional identity formation characteristic of "NSMs". Ibid.

[132] Adam. 1993: p. 340
[133] Mills, 1970: p. 14
[134] Scott, 1990: p. 23
[135] Rustin, 1976: p. 41-2 as quoted in Scott, 1990, p. 22
[136] Scott, Ibid. p. 24
[137] Adam, 1993: p. 86-7
[138] Adam, Ibid. p. 87
[139] Adam, Ibid. p. 87
[140] Keane, 1988: p. 4 as quoted in Adam, Ibid.
[141] Scott, 1990, p. 24.
[142] F. Parkin quoted in Scott, 1990: p.135
[143] Scott, 1990 p. 136 as quoted in Weir, 1993: p. 84
[144] Scott, Ibid: p. 155

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Introduction

> Any time we switch on the news on TV, it is there. We see crowds in city squares protesting against oppressive governments, the grim faces of British coalminers on strike, American youngsters picketing a nuclear plant, students fighting the riot police on the streets of Seoul, Muslims attacking Christians or vice versa, Serbs fighting Bosnians and Bosnians fighting Serbs, black Africans rallying against apartheid, women picketing abortion clinics and French peasants blocking highways. All these are social movements, perhaps the most potent forces of social change in our society.[1]

In this transitional chapter, the discussion will begin by investigating the relationship between social movements and social transformation and conclude with an introductory discussion about the relationship between social movements and education. Among the many players that influence social change, social movements throughout history have not only played a unique role but a greatly significant one - some say more than any other historical actor. While it is true that social movements transform society, they are also deeply influenced by, if not a pure creation of, their society.

In an examination of their reflexive role in mediating social change, an attempt will be made to identify the individuals, organizations and the social change agents who constitute social movements. Then, three broad themes will be addressed. The first theme explores the impact of preceding social conditions and social change on social movements through a review of the remaining significant social movement theories, namely the waning relative deprivation

theory and the resource mobilization theory now widely pervasive in the United States. The second theme explores the means and methods that social movements employ to promote social change which includes a brief discussion on the consequences to social movements for their success - mainly in the creation of countermovements. Finally, the third theme focuses on the particular movement strategies such as education for social transformation with specific attention given to the problematic nature of movement success.

Social Change and Social Movement

> Mass-based movements and the conflict they generate are *primary* agents of social change.[2]

That social movements are a primary cause of social transformation is an assertion that is not without its share of historical contestation. The direction of social change is 'preordained' stated the father of sociology, August Comte - man could facilitate the process but he could not alter it.[3] Educating people to think 'properly" could increase the rate of change towards a Positive (utopian) society he suggested, but the direction was already predetermined. Later in 1874, Herbert Spencer described human action as being considerably more limited than Comte when he suggested that human interference can only impede progress: "[t]he processes of growth and development may be, and very often are, hindered or deranged, though they cannot be artificially bettered."[4]

Controversy also surrounded the role of the individual, inside and outside a social movement, to promote change. Social historians such as P. Sorokin challenged the 'great man' and 'hero' theories as seen in *The Hero in History*

(Hook, 1943) or *Influencing Attitudes or Changing Behaviour* (Zimbardo and Ebbesen, 1970). Sorokin denied history-making to individuals suggesting, "[i]t was not the Hitlers, Stalins, and Mussolinis who created the present crisis: the already existing crisis made them what they are - its instrumentalities and puppets."[5] Evolutionary theorists also stressed factors that superseded individual action in which developments are "heterogeneous, haphazard, 'blind', 'chance', 'random', but in any event variable."[6]

Robert Lauer contends that two trends have obscured the study of social movement impact on social change: first, a considerable portion of the debate about the course of history up to the 60s, as indicated above, has been monopolized by the 'great man/hero' theories versus deterministic theories and second; the study of social movements and the study of social change have historically, and oddly, essentially been 'independent pursuits'. Regarding the first trend, as the late alternative to the previously two-sided debate between the impact of individual action versus suprahuman factors on social change, the study of collective behaviour/social movement has only recently risen from obscurity to successfully challenge social change debate.

As to the latter trend, given that almost every definition of social movement mentions social change, whether to implement it or resist it, beginning with Von Stein (1850) right up to Khawaja (1994), it is perplexing that the study of social movement and the study of social change have remained almost mutually exclusive until the late 60s. As Sztompka has said, "[p]erhaps

the most common and most emphasized facet of all [social movement] definitions is the intimate link between social movements and social change."[7] Blumer called social movements "one of the chief ways through which modern societies are remade,"[8] Killian called them "creators of social change,"[9] Touraine uses the term, "historical actors"[10] and; Eyerman and Jamison define them as both, "transforming agents of political life" and "carriers of historical projects."[11] Upon review of the literature in the studies of social change and of social movements up to 1976, Lauer states:

> In spite of considerable consensus on the definition of a movement, studies tend to focus on such matters as the organization of the movement, leadership and following, the recruitment and motivation of members, ideology, and the internal changes or developments in movements over time. The actual effects of the movement upon the social order have less commonly been investigated. Thus, the essential purpose of social movements, as specified in all the definitions... has been neglected in sociological studies. And the problem is compounded by the fact that books on social change seldom deal to any extent with the movement as a significant factor in social change.[12]

As primary agents of social change, social movements also serve as mediators between preceding social processes and subsequent social transformation.

Social Movements as Mediators of Social Change

> Social movement, while itself a collective enterprise to effect changes in the social order, is also a response to changes in social conditions that have occurred independently of its efforts.[13]

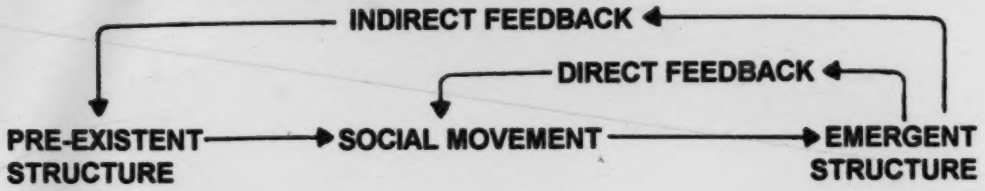
Whatever the reasons behind social change and social movement remaining so independent, the original question whether social movements are a

primary agent of social change presumptuously overlooks larger social processes in play as Lauer points out:

> When we deal with a social movement, we are dealing with two processes that intersect and interact with each other - the process of the movement itself and the processes of the larger society within which the movement is operative. This is why we must study any movement in terms both of its impact upon change and of the impact of change upon the movement.[14]

Because social movements not only effect social change but are products of previous social change and are continually altered by ongoing social change, they play an important mediating role between pre-existent social processes (which alter movements) and succeeding social processes (which movements alter). In explaining their unique mediating role, Sztompka first comes to their defence. Social movements cannot be treated simply "as effects, epiphenomena, or symptoms accompanying processes unfolding by their own thrust and momentum (e.g. accompanying the progress of modernization, the emergence of mass society or sudden economic collapse)" - they are not merely "like a fever reflecting deeper changes in the social organism."[15] It would be more reasonable, Sztompka suggests, to view them as both "the products of earlier social changes and the producer (or at least co-producers) of further social transformations" (see Figure 4.1).[16] Burns would agree. He casts social movements as "mediators in the causal chain of social praxis" in that they, "are the bearers of social structure in the form of acquired rule systems, and at the same time, they produce, reproduce and transform rule systems through their actions and transactions of social structure."[17]

Figure 4.1 A Schematic Diagram of the Determinants and Reflexive Impact of Social Movements.[18]



To a very large degree, the main project of NSM theory is trying to answer why NSMs have emerged - it attempts to explain the pre-existing historical processes that produced social movements after 1968. Thus, when studying the complex relationship between social movements and social change, we are constantly reminded that there is no unidirectional effect, and in varying degrees, social change transforms social movements and social movements transform society. Large and interesting questions then arise: What kind of change spawns the genesis of social movements? What kind of change influences the development of social movements? Conversely, how do social movements effect change? Which social movement strategies are the most "successful" in effecting change? What are the consequences of effecting change? etceteras. Before attempting to answer some of these questions, it will prove useful to briefly review the other major social movement theory which, from a different perspective, also tries to explain how social movements mobilize. Just as social movements are mediators of social change, in resource mobilization theory, people's organizations are the carriers of social movement.

Movement Constituents and Resource Mobilization Theory

> The idea that organizations act as carriers of social movements is now commonplace in political sociology.
>
> William A. Gamson[19]

Theorists from the 30 year old resource mobilization (RM) school have clarified how social movements mobilize, what strategies they use, and identified dominant features about individual and organizational constituents. Although a fuller analysis and critique of RM theory (RMT) will be withheld until later, suffice to say it attempts to explain how material resources and political constituencies influence social movements and how movements, organizations and constituencies are organized. One of its basic, and as some argue extreme, assumptions is "that there is always enough discontent in any society to supply the grass-roots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organized and has at its disposal the power and resources of some established elite group."[20]

The following RMT definitions will prove useful in understanding the role of individuals, organizations and eventually education in social movements. A social movement (SM) is uniquely defined in RMT as a "set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, of a society. A *countermovement* is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population in opposition to a social movement."[21] "As is clear," state Zald and McCarthy, some of the founders of RMT, "we view social movements as nothing more than preference

structures directed toward social change, very similar to what political sociologists would term *issue cleavages*".[22] The next theoretical element is a social movement organization (*SMO*) defined as "a complex, or formal, organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals."[23] The penultimate theoretical definition states that, "[a]ll SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement constitute a *social movement industry* (SMI) - the organizational analogue of a social movement".[24]

Zald and McCarthy make a final distinction between SMIs and *social movement sectors* (SMSs) which "consists of all SMIs in a society no matter to which SM they are attached".[25] Just as reference might be made to the private and public sector in a country, RMT distinguishes a SMS in each society. Social movement activity in concert with all the other societal actors or sectors, as Garner and Zald have written elsewhere, will differ from one society to another. RMT defines a SMS as:

> [T]he configuration of social movements, the structure of antagonistic, competing and cooperating movements which in turn is part of a larger structure of action that may include political parties, state bureaucracies, the media, pressure groups, churches and a variety of other organizational factors in a society.[26]

The character of the SMS gives a 'specific flavour or tone to the operation of each constituent movement' in each society although they are not limited to geo-political boundaries as in the case of the Kurdish movement which is active in at

least Iraq, Turkey and Germany.[27] Sztompka comments on the importance of a rich and fertile SMS:

> A society which wants to take full advantage of its own creative potential, which wishes to form and reform itself to the benefit of its members, has to allow, even to encourage, the free operation of social movements, resulting in a rich and varied SMS. This is the "active society"... Societies which suppress, block or eliminate social movements destroy their own mechanism of self-improvement and self-transcendence.[28]

Returning to the first three theoretical elements, SM, SMO and SMI, Zald and McCarthy clarify their inter-relationship using the example of the civil rights movement. It was (and still is) a good example of a SM as it contained "a large portion of the population that held preferences for change" aimed at, in this case, "justice for black Americans."[29] A vast array of SMOs such as "the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)", collectively constituted a SMI although they individually and often independently promoted the goal of justice for black Americans.[30]

Comparatively, according to RMT and using "RMT-ese", the SMS of Canada might be said to include, besides governments, business et al, 13 different SMs including peace, human rights and international development and solidarity made evident by their respective SMI (as organized in the 1987 *Connexions Directory of Canadian Organizations for Social Justice)* replete with its representative SMOs. Zald and McCarthy suggest that there are four

advantages to analytically separating the term social movement, which typically includes both the elements of preference and organized action for change, into the terms SM and SMI. They state:

> First, it emphasizes that SMs are never fully mobilized. Second, it focuses explicitly upon the organizational component of activity. Third, it recognizes explicitly that SMs are typically represented by more than one SMO. Finally, the distinction allows the possibility of an account of the rise and fall of SMIs that is not fully dependent upon the size of an SM or the intensity of the preferences within it.[31]

Thus in RM terms, increasingly the parlance of North American social movement scholars, individuals can 'hold preferences for change' in more than one SM. And NGOs committed to social change, categorized as SMOs, can be a part of more than one SMI. Admitting that "the definition of SMI parallels the concept of industry in economics", where economists are "confronted with the difficulty of selecting broader or narrower criteria for including firms (SMOs) within an industry (SMI)", the question then becomes how to group SMOs into SMIs.[32]

Many NGOs, in and outside Canada, are active in several SMIs which has in several ways complicated social movement research. For example, many human rights organizations on the Mexican - United States border are, and should be, equally active as environmental groups. One or two ecological NGOs (SMOs) do not wholly constitute the ecological movement and testing a few variables of a SMO only begins to reveal a few of the significant movement dynamics. In many ways the RM distinction between SMs, SMOs and SMIs,

despite much of the criticism it has drawn, is an important reminder that in complex societal dynamics we cannot simply equate our study of social movements with those of social movement organizations and vice versa.

Grasping the Vast Array of SMOs

While a significant amount of research has been accomplished on NGO/SMO activity, especially by the RM school, and while there is a vast amount of literature on NGOs, it is not difficult to agree with Thomas F. Carroll's conclusion upon reviewing much of the literature on NGOs and social change:

> Publications on NGOs tend to lump many kinds of organizations together so that lack of discrimination diminishes their usefulness. The heterogeneity of the universe of NGOs defies most analysts. There is either too little useful discrimination or there is too narrow a focus on specialized entities. The nomenclature is confusing: there is no agreement on typologies or on the use of acronyms invented by various authors. With respect to performance, most evaluations deal with projects rather than with organizations, and there is a tendency to see the effectiveness of NGOs in terms of black and white. There are too many ardent admirers and also a good number of skeptics who minimize or dismiss the importance of NGOs.[33]

It is important to once again recall how social movements, like NGOs, are vastly heterogeneous which also makes them "defy most analysts". Calderon et al underscore their diversity and inherent complexity:

> There is, then, a wide spectrum of social movements. Many of them center on specific actors, others are self-referential or monadic; some are synchronic and latent, others of long duration; some are the product of the intensification of capitalism, others of exclusion; some are unprecedented, perhaps ambiguous, constantly changing, with polyvalent meanings. All of the movements, based on identities that are often changing, are internally complex and produced themselves within novel historical processes. In short, they represent new historical movements in the making.[34]

Power is one important but not well understood feature in the study of SMs and SMOs. One of the more influential publications on "transformative" NGOs is David Korten's *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*. In analyzing the role of NGOs in social movements he uses Nerfin's analogy of the prince, who represents governmental power, the merchant, representing economic power, and the citizen, representing people's power.[35] Describing government, business and the citizenry as "third-party organizations i.e., those basing their social legitimacy on the premise that they exist to serve the needs of third parties - persons who are not themselves members of the organization,"[36] Korten contrasts how their orientations and roles compliment and compete with each other:

> Each of the three types of third-party organizations is distinguished by the degree to which it acquires resources primarily through threat power (the power of the prince), economic power (the power of the merchant) or integrative power (the power of the citizen). While many, perhaps most, organizations use some combination of all three types of power, there is a tendency to specialize. The dominant source of power of each sector has an important bearing on its organizations' distinctive nature, competence and societal role.[37]

These three types of power correspond respectively to Korten (and Brown's) concept of how social organizations acquire resources: by coercion, by exchange or through shared values. Korten explains how voluntary organizations (VOs), representing the citizen's integrative power, function:

> They depend primarily on appeals to shared values as the basis for mobilizing human and financial resources. Citizens contribute their time, money and other resources to a VO because they believe in what it is contributing to society. They share in a commitment to the

> organization's vision of a better world. This value commitment is the distinctive strength of the VO, making it relatively immune to the political agendas of government or to the economic forces of the market place.[38]

But Korten insists that while VOs are important NGOs, VO integrative power is not sufficient stuff for social movements. In his typology of four kinds of NGOs, inspired by his analysis of international development NGOs, it is people's organizations (POs) not VOs, which are primary in building and fueling social movements. The term NGO, or private voluntary organization (PVO) as it is commonly referred to in the U. S., embraces a wide variety of organizations, states Korten. They include:

> (1) Voluntary Organizations (VOs) that pursue a social mission driven by a commitment to shared values. (2) Public Service Contractors (PSCs) that function as market-oriented nonprofit businesses serving public purposes. (3) People's Organizations (POs) that represent their members' interests, have member accountable leadership, and are substantially self-reliant. (4) Governmental Nongovernmental Organizations (GONGOs) that are creations of government and serve as instruments of government policy.[39]

POs distinguish themselves from VOs (as well as other NGOs) in two respects: they are first-party organizations in that they are a mutual benefit association that bases its legitimacy on the ability to serve its members' interests; they have the ability to use threat, economic and integrative power.[40] Working in partnership, POs and VOs facilitate social movements:

> Their goal is to energize a critical mass of independent, decentralized initiative in support of a social vision. Here we speak of VOs and POs. The entry of PSCs and GONGOs into a people's movement is a strong indication that the movement has spent its force and [has] become an establishment institution concerned with the protection of its own interests... Active social movements

> may be supported by individual VOs with paid staff, but the role of such personnel is to support the volunteers who provide the real energy in any social movement.[41]

"True movements are the purest of voluntary phenomena..." Korten explains, but cautions, "[p]erhaps the surest way to kill them is to push them toward bureaucratization by drowning them in money."[42] Thus, as the most significant 'carriers of social movements', it is specific kinds of NGOs, namely POs and VOs, that hold the distinction of being the primary social actor to negotiate change with business and the state along with its political parties.

In Thomas F. Carroll's important study of the intermediary NGOs that support grassroots organizations and movements, he suggests that within the broad spectrum of NGOs they can be categorized according to their purposes, main activities and levels. The five purposes for NGOs include charity, relief, development, political action and advocacy of special interests. Main NGO activities can be listed as: fraternal, social and/or recreational; education; research and; lobbying. NGOs exist at the various levels including: the local level (single primary groups of communities); the locality level (grouping of communities); regional level; national level and; international level.[43] Through his work with the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), over 11,000 NGOs have been identified in Latin America and the Caribbean which are only a small "part of an emerging national civic mobilization and social activism in Latin America."[44]

Of course there is a significant distinction between NGOs active in social transformation and others active in social reproduction - between how they use

power. The political action, lobbying and advocacy work of a social movement can adopt an emancipatory or neoconservative strategy. A statement signed by members of the Regional Coalition of Development Organizations (CROD) in Central America makes that distinction:

> What is the fundamental difference that distinguished an NGO with a popular orientation from an NGO linked to the neoconservative strategy? Both implement small projects; they both link themselves with the most vulnerable groups. Both even display participatory pedagogical techniques and approaches to promotion which seek to consolidate a capacity for economic self-management. In reality, what distinguishes a neoconservative wave of NGOs from an NGO movement committed to promoting the leadership of popular groups lies in how they view the problem of power. In the first case, the activity of the NGO is oriented at provoking changes in order to avoid modifications in the structure of power. In the second case, the NGOs try to promote changes in order to achieve transformations in the relation of social forces, in a manner which favours the majority.[45]

A Description of Social Movement Constituents

Given the vast heterogeneity of social movements and of NGOs/SMOs including their different approaches to uses of power, it stands to reason that the individual constituents of SMOs would also be quite heterogeneous. Some NSM theorists suggest, as mentioned in the last chapter, that constituents of social movements can be categorized as the "new middle class". Clauss Offe, referring to Germany and other European countries, describes social movement constituency as one of the two novel aspects of NSMs:

> First, their location within the social structure is by no means marginal. Old social movements such as late nineteenth-century American populism typically grew out of social strata whose institutional and material resources of power were being negated or threatened by processes of modernization. Support for the new social movement, by contrast, is derived predominantly not from

> peripheral or underprivileged strata but from groups who themselves play a rather central role in steering and managing what Daniel Bell has called 'post-industrial' society. These core groups are relatively well-to-do, and include people from the new middle classes and the professional and service sectors who have the highest levels of education and the greatest cognitive skills. This characteristic feature of the [NSMs] reinforces their second novel aspect, namely, that they do not protest in the name of preserving a traditional past that is presently threatened by modernization and rationalization.[46]

Calderon et al would disagree in the case of Latin America where the distinction is not so much that they are 'new middle class', but that they are smaller and less visible than the 'union and peasant class'. They state:

> In sum, although [contemporary social movements] are characterized by 'small' social actors (that is, blacks, rockers, mothers, and so forth) compared to the protagonists in earlier movements who were 'grand' and more clearly visible (workers and peasants), the social movements of today nevertheless exhibit a marked political propensity. It is not impossible to imagine that these numerous small actors might communicate with each other and thereby connect their spaces, not in a simple aggregate manner, but organically.[47]

Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes would agree with Offe concerning the middle class composition of social movements in Europe (and include North America) but would argue with Calderon et al that the class base of Latin American movements is typically lower class.[48] Judith Hellman has keenly observed that if Gunder Frank and Fuentes are correct, then "it is not surprising that participants in northern movements have written about themselves and that Third World activists and their activities more often have been described, analyzed, and interpreted by others" i.e. it is the middle class everywhere who are researching social movements.[49] Coming almost full circle, we are reminded

of Lorna Weir's comment that the only certainty about the constituencies of contemporary social movements is that working class representation is not as prolific as it once was.

Because we will later need to explore several issues concerning the role of education in social movements, we need to now briefly return to the discussion investigating the reflexive relationship between social movements and social change/transformation. The first step is to look at the process of how social movements are impacted by preceding social processes.

The Impact of Social Change on Movements

> The emergence of a protest movement entails a transformation both of consciousness and of behavior. The changes in consciousness has at least three distinct aspects... [with the third aspect being] there is a new sense of efficacy: people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot.[50]
>
> Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*

We return to an earlier question, why and how do movements emerge? Recognizing the impact of preceding social change on social movements, Roberts and Kloss among others, have tried to link specific kinds of social change with specific kinds of movements. They hypothesize that if we can know the particular characteristics of the population, the structure of the society, the kind(s) of deprivation resulting from change, and the way in which the people define their predicament, then we should be able to predict the type of movement to emerge. Identifying three master social trends which have an 'oppressive nature', Roberts and Kloss suggest bureaucratization, cultural

imperialization (including racism, colonialism, and economic exploitation), and industrialization give rise to, respectively, "antibureaucratic, nativistic and nationalistic, and egalitarian movements."[51] Their work foreshadows the crux of the NSM project which suggests that contemporary movements "are reactions against the *deepening*, *broadening*, and *increased* irreversibility of the forms of domination and deprivation in late capitalist societies" of the post-modern/post-industrial world.

As was seen in the last chapter, theorists such as "Habermas and Offe, rooted in German critical theory; Laclau and Mouffe, with their critical synthesis of poststructuralism and neo-Gramscian Marxism; and Touraine with his sociology of action" have explained the emergence of recent social movements "in reference to structural transformations and long-range political and cultural change" that create new sources of conflict and alter the process of the constitution of collective identities."[52] Carl Boggs summarizes the emergence of NSMs quite poignantly, albeit from a decidedly political approach:

> The growth of a rationalized state system and the merging of parties [endemic in post-modern times] effectively disenfranchises broad sectors of the population, especially those already farthest removed from the centers of power. The liberal ideal of democratic participation dissolves into a pluralist social contract uniting governmental, interest-group, and party elites. The absence of real debate and the lack of political competition leave the electorate with very restricted choices... Elections become critical only insofar as the media presents them as such. Insofar as participation is emptied of substantive meaning, democracy is largely reduced to its formal, procedural dimension. The consequences of such closure are predictable: disaffection from the mass parties, lower voter turn-outs, increased mistrust of political leaders..., and, finally, the rise of new social movements.[53]

More recently, new social movement scholars such as Boggs, Habermas, Melucci and Tarrow have attempted to understand the cultural factors that have motivated previously complacent citizens to become socially active. As Tarrow says, we are "obliged to take into account cultural trends, community and social networks and ideological process within different groups in order to understand how structural potential is translated into decisions to participate."[54]

At the "middle-level" of theory, resource mobilization (RM) scholars from both the 'rational choice' and 'political opportunity' camps argue "that 'objective/structural' conditions such as stages of political stability, communication networks, types of organizational structure and elite support play a fundamental role in developing a society that is ripe for social movement activity."[55] They assert that a movement must have pre-existing communication lines to recruit new members. More than just determining the existence of movement messengers, movement researchers many suggest, must "decipher the messages that motivated movement participation."[56] Thus, many factors precipitate the emergence and development of social movements. One precipitating factor, or "cultural trend" as Tarrow calls it, to be considered is the expansion of formal education, both in the West and the South, in the postwar period.

Formal Education as a Determinant of Social Movement Participation

A sufficient number of social movement theorists have remarked on the 'impressive consistency between education and political participation' that the

discussion deserves some review.[57] In social movement theory terms this is called "prior education" and Sztompka states its impact on social movement mobilization:

> Modern society has experienced a general cultural and educational upgrading. Participation in social movements demands some degree of awareness, imagination, moral sensitivity and concern with public issues, with the ability to generalize from personal or local experience. All these are positively correlated with the level of education. The educational revolution which accompanies the spread of capitalism and democracy extends the pool of potential members of social movements.[58]

Back in 1962, Campbell emphasized that formal education (in the Western world) is the "*surest single predictor of political involvement*" and mused why it was so:

> Perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is number of years of formal education. There are apathetic college graduates and highly involved people of very low educational level but the overall relationship of education and political interest is impressive. It is impossible to say with confidence why it is that formal schooling makes people more responsive to political stimulation. One may surmise that education tends to widen the scope of one's acquaintance with political facts, to increase capacity to perceive the personal implications of political events, or to enlarge one's confidence in his own ability to act effectively politically. Whatever the precise nature of the educational process, it has clear effects on political interest.[59]

As NSM theorists have consistently rejected the 'implausible proposition' that class determines social and political conflict, they have reasoned that the protest of new movements relates to the liberalizing effects of education. The radicalism of the educated middle class may arise according to Brint as a result of five identified effects of education:

> Except for preexisting background and personality differences, the education variable may reflect, to some extent, the tendency of the educated to be integrated into more sophisticated, cosmopolitan, and critical communications networks; it may reflect the direct transmission of liberal and dissenting ideas from teachers to students; and it may indicate the direct effects of college on cognitive development.[60]

Hanspeter Kriesi raises the age old argument of Schumpeter (1942) that the expansion of the educational system after the second world war outpaced the growth of the occupational system which increased the dissatisfaction of 'the system'. This tendency of the higher educated to become politically more radical way has resurfaced more recently under the guise of relative deprivation reasoning. Alber for example "attributes the large measure of support that the German Greens find among the young, highly educated" and supposedly among those who are unemployed and/or have poor employment prospects.[61]

In an interesting five nation study of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Mexico and the United States, the summary of findings points toward the mechanisms that have produced such profound effects upon political behavior. The following chapter references are from *The Civic Culture*:[62]

> The more educated person:
>
> -is more aware of the impact of government on the individual than is the person of less education (chap. 3).
> -is more likely to report that he follows politics and pays attention to election campaigns than is the individual of less education (chap. 3).
> -has more political information (chap. 3).
> -has opinions on a wider range of political subjects; the focus of his attention to politics is wider (chap. 3).
> -is more likely to engage in political discussion (chap. 4).
> -feels free to discuss politics with a wider range of people (chap. 4); those with less education are likely to report that

> there are many people with whom they avoid such discussions.
> -is more likely to consider himself capable of influencing the government; this is reflected both in response to questions on what one could do about an unjust law (chap. 7) and in respondents' scores on the subjective competence (chap. 9).

In addition Zald and McCarthy found evidence in the study that shows the more educated person:

> -is more likely to be a member - an active member - of some organization (chap. 11).
> -is more likely to express confidence in his social environment: to believe that other people are trustworthy and helpful (chap. 10).

Further studies by Nie et al have shown that formal education leads to general involvement in organizations which leads to political involvement.[63] Morgan et al (1975) show that the higher the education, the more likely the giving of time and that people who give more time to volunteer activities also give more money.[64]

"Clearly", Zald and McCarthy conclude, "we would expect an increasingly educated society to be an increasingly participatory one. The argument is plausible, but inferential. It requires demonstrating both that sociopolitical participation has increased and that the size of the highly participating middle class has increased."[65] For example, in a more recent study done in Toronto by MacDermid and Stevenson (1991), some curious contradictions showed up in their data analysis of education's effect on attitudes toward environmental issues and social action. On the one hand, the best educated were more likely to be "deep environmentalists", twice as much as those with the least education. As

well the authors state, "the least educated group are more likely to be system supporters than any other group, that is to be uncritical and individually inattentive to environmental problems."[66]

On the other hand, university graduates are more likely to be "shallow environmentalists" than any other group and all indications seem to suggest that "[h]igher education is clearly no guarantee of critical awareness, which is more likely attributable to distinctive life experiences."[67] Surprisingly, the importance of experience seems to be confirmed by the findings that 18 to 25 year olds are less likely to be deep environmentalists than any other age group. However, the next group less likely to be deep environmentalists are the oldest (46 years old and older). John Howard would agree that "critical insight is best learned in the school of experience" who, in clarifying the additive role of education, states, "[i]nvolvement in the world of work, then, increases the potential for a critical consciousness. When combined with such involvement, education increases the potential further."[68]

In any case, it appears that the jury is still out on the impact that prior formal education has on emergent social movements. The jury is also out on what other factors beside prior education make people more willing to participate in a movement. Among the many findings of recent studies, there is a clear indication that all movement participants do *not* have to have a high sense of movement power to become or remain active in a movement and that persistent activists rely heavily on moral pronouncements, the satisfaction of group

membership, and their faith in the educational method of societal transformation.[69]

There are two other major theoretical schools besides NSM theory which have, both quantitatively and qualitatively, generated significant research in understanding how changing social conditions generate and impact social movements: resource mobilization (RM) theory, which we have already mentioned, and relative deprivation theory. We will first briefly discuss the arguably "outdated" relative deprivation theory before turning to examine the considerably pervasive RM project.

Relative Deprivation Theory

One of the two dominant schools of thought which has tried to explicate the genesis of social movements and revolutions is called the relative deprivation (RD) theory.[70] The central premise of the theory Krahn and Harrison state, "is that individuals or groups will feel deprived (and may react in a variety of ways) when their current (primarily economic) circumstances are negatively compared to the (real or imagined) situation of others."[71] "In the 19th century " they continue, "both de Toqueville and Marx relied on such explanations in their respective analyses of the French Revolution and the problems of capitalism."[72]

More recently, Walker and Pettigrew (1984) recognized that feelings of RD "could also result from comparisons with one's own previous or anticipated future situation, rather than with the situation of others" which "might encourage individuals to efforts to change their individual situation."[73] Current work, like that

of Krahn and Harrison (1992), explores whether this 'self-referenced' RD can lead to group-level or social action.

Social movements allegedly arise then because some group or groups have a strong sense of relative, as compared to absolute, deprivation or disadvantage. Molotch and Sztompka along with others, have suggested that the proliferation of mass media has increased feelings of relative deprivation in two ways. By extending the 'horizon of citizens beyond their personal world towards the experiences of other groups, classes and nations socially or geographically remote', mass media has several effects. First, it produces the important "demonstration effect", i.e. the chance to compare one's own life with lives of other societies increasing the perception of unjustified disadvantage and the accompanying feeling of 'relative deprivation' which is a "conducive psychological background to social movements."[74] Secondly; it teaches people about the "political creeds, attitudes and grievances of others" allowing them to:

> [B]reak out of their 'pluralistic ignorance' or the mistaken, paralyzing belief that one is alone in misery and discontent. Instead it generates solidarity, loyalty and consensus extending far beyond the immediate social circle. This feeling of common cause and supra-local solidarity is another socio-psychological precondition for the emergence of social movements.[75]

Morrison identified five structural conditions of relative deprivation which he stated were necessary for the formation of a social movement:

> First, a large number of people must experience the deprivation. Second, there must be a certain "density" of the deprivation - the people must be interacting and communicating with each other. (Recall Marx's argument that the peasants did not form a social class because of their lack of proximity and the necessary interaction.) Third, there must be similar roles and statuses among

> those experiencing the relative deprivation. (If the deprived are very heterogeneous, it is easier to attribute the deprivation to individual shortcomings.) Fourth, there must be a stratification system with well-defined boundaries and obvious power differences between the strata. And, finally, the existence of voluntary associations in the society facilitates the rise of the movement because they suggest that change can some about through voluntary, collective efforts.[76]

When there is too much disparity between what is perceived as legitimate expectations and what is apparently attainable, social movements typically do not form goes the theory. Outside of the Haitian slave revolution of 1804 for example, there are very few recorded slave revolts because as many have observed, those engaging in movements are "somewhere in the middle and not at the top or bottom."[77] De Tocqueville (1955) observed this in France at a time just prior to the Revolution when the French were 'experiencing real gains in economic prosperity':

> In 1780, there could no longer be any talk of France's being on the downgrade; on the contrary, it seemed that no limit could be set to her advance... Moreover, those parts of France in which the improvement in the standard of living was most pronounced were the centers of the revolutionary movement.[78]

But as early as the late 60s and early 70s other explanations of collective action began to overshadow RD theoretical work, the most dominant being the resource mobilization (RM) theory.[79] It argues that, "changes in the structure of a society lead to changes in the resources available to group and also generate new groups (industrialization creates the working class). As a result of these changes, protest movements emerge in the contest of struggle between the various groups for power."[80] From a RM perspective, explaining collective action

"should include variation in resources, organizational strengths, state-imposed constraints and opportunities, and strategies of action."[81]

Resource Mobilization Theory

While some empirical studies continue to test the validity of the relative deprivation thesis, it is the resource mobilization (RM) theory which has, in the United States, eclipsed all other social movement research models. By the early 1980s, RM approaches comprised 71 per cent of all "articles devoted to social movements and collective behaviour in four major social science journals."[82] RD theory was retired by RM theorists who insisted that since "social conflict, inequality, and discrimination exist in all known species, explanations which focus on such sources of discontent are not needed."[83] Socioeconomic changes, instead of creating more anger and frustration, "affect collective action only indirectly, through shifting group interests, old solidarity patterns, and the pool of resources available to contending parties."[84] "Grievance... is considered a constant by RM theorists - it is pervasive in all time and places - and cannot, therefore, be responsible for variations in insurgent actions."[85] In fact, "grievance and discontent may be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations."[86] Quite different from RD theory, Khawaja clarifies that, "RM theory focuses on changes in the mobilization potential of the aggrieved population rather than fluctuations in their discontent and strain."[87]

McCarthy and Zald, some of the earliest RM theorists (along with Charles Tilly), point to the original author who challenged social movement theorists in

1965 to consider how it is that individuals will bear personal costs expending resources, principally money and time, for collective goods. The debt to Mancur Olson's contribution is recognized early in their introduction of RM theory:

> The [RM] perspective adopts as one of its underlying problems Olson's (1965) challenge: since social movements deliver collective goods, few individuals will 'on their own' bear the costs of working to obtain them. Explaining collective behaviour requires detailed attention to the selection of incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms or structures, and career benefits that lead to collective behavior.[88]

Olson's challenge, to theorists and organizations alike, is referred to as the "free-rider problem" which Khawaja clearly explains:

> [A]ll RM approaches consider organizational strengths as necessary for movement success and sustained contention... The most important role played by organizations is in overcoming the free-rider problem, initially posed by Olson (1965). Olson argues that rational individuals would not contribute resources, including their time, to collective action without selective incentives or constraints. For collective action to occur, organizers have to provide material incentives in the form of reward or in the form of sanctions against those who do not participate.[89]

McCarthy and Zald continue with their description of RM theory as it had developed to 1987:

> Several emphases are central to the perspective as it has developed. First, study of the aggregation of resource (money and labour) is crucial to an understanding of social movement activity. Because resources are necessary for engagement in social conflict, they must be aggregated for collective purposes. Second, resource aggregation requires some minimal form of organization, and hence, implicitly or explicitly, we focus more directly upon social movement organizations than those working within the traditional perspective do. Third, in accounting for a movement's success and failures one finds an explicit recognition of the crucial importance of involvement on the part of individuals and organizations from outside the collectivity a social movement represents. Fourth, an explicit, if crude, supply-and -demand model

> is sometimes applied to the flow of resources toward and away from specific social movements. Finally, there is a sensitivity to the importance of costs and rewards in explaining individual and organizational involvement in social movement activity. Costs and reward are centrally affected by the structure of society and the activities of authorities.[90]

Thus, in emphasizing the "importance of controlling and mobilizing resources in the life of a social movement organization... an increase in the availability of resources is usually singled out as one of the most important factors in affecting groups' mobilization potential and, hence, the generation of collective protest."[91] Given that the powerless are usually poor in resources, numerous RM studies have documented how "external support is required if mobilization is to succeed."[92] That there is little agreement as to the definition of resources however is only one of the problems concerning RM theory. Despite its wide currency, criticism abounds.

Criticism of RM Theory

Although RM theory has shown remarkable popularity, or "vitality" as Zald calls it, numerous analysts have called into question its generalability because, they maintain, "it may not offer adequate explanation for all kinds of movements and collective violence in varied settings."[93] Khawaja, an RM theorist himself, suggests that RM is perhaps more "a theoretical framework rather than a coherent theory... [t]he causal factors suggested by the different RM approaches could be subsumed under a general framework of constraints and opportunities for collective action."[94] Before launching into the typical criticism of RM theory, Stoecker concedes that it "has explained how material resources and political

opportunities influence social movements... and how movements, organizations, and constituencies are organized."[95] However, he states, RM theory has not satisfactorily explained why:

> [I]ndividuals become movement activists when they receive no individual benefit (Mueller 1992; Ferree 1992), why movements do not take advantage of seemingly resource rich environment (Snow and Benford 1992), why resource-rich social movement organizations (SMOs) collapse (Buechler 1993), how oppositional consciousness develops under structural adversity..., or how movements shift in and out of 'abeyance' (Taylor, 1989).[96]

Scott also points out the strengths with the weaknesses of RM theory beginning with the assertion that any adequate theory of social movement must account for, as RM theory does very well, "the inherent instability of collective action and the fact that this poses organizational and tactical problems for social movements."[97] "More specifically," Scott adds:

> [T]he tactical dilemmas faced by social movements which rely on wide mobilization act as an incentive to lowering the costs of collective action, and this in turn pulls movements towards (i) formal organization with quasi-professional leadership; (ii) 'legitimate' institutional activity rather than 'illegitimate' - especially illegal - forms of action.[98]

But as Melucci said, "[w]hat RM theory lacks... is an understanding of the content of social movement demands, that is, of the 'why' as well as the 'how'."[99] RM theory say little about the "content and the socio-political contest of collective action. They are concerned with the dynamics of collective action as such, independent of context and of the actual aims of such actions."[100] Often criticized for this instrumentalist approach, Scott concludes that "because of its orientation to a context-independent understanding of mobilization processes

and organizational problems," RM theory "lacks what its rivals have in over-abundance: an explanation of the connection between particular types of social movements within their social environment."[101]

Collaborating in Social Movement Theorizing

Finally, Eduardo Canel who has effectively argued for the need of RMT and its main rival, NSM theory to integrate, cites five important shortcomings of RMT:

> *First*, by focusing exclusively on rational-instrumental action and limiting the actions of social movements to the political realm, RMT neglects the normative and symbolic dimensions of social action. Social movements tend to be reduced to political protests... *Second*, exclusive focus on the "how" of social movements - on how strategies, decisions, resources, and other elements converge to give rise to a social movement - has been detrimental to explaining the "why," or the meaning of collective action... *Third*, RMT employs an individualistic conception of collective action and a restrictive view of rationality. It assumes that collective action is an aggregate of multiple individual decisions based on a cost-benefit assessment of the chances to succeed... *Fourth*, RMT does not fully account for the passage from condition to action. RMT cannot explain the processes of group formation and the origins of the organizational forms it presupposes... *Fifth*, by placing so much emphasis on continuity, on political-institutional processes and instrumental action, RMT misses the differences between the new movements and traditional collective actors. Similarly, it does not clearly define the distinction between social movements and interest groups.[102]

Canel's compelling argument that the RMT and NSM paradigms could and should be integrated to better understand social movements is highlighted by two fruitful points. First, in arguing for their integration he does not underestimate their differences. Canel succinctly and poignantly describes the five major differences between RMT and NSM paradigms:

> *RMT* emphasizes continuity. It explains social movements in relation to resource management, organizational dynamics, political processes, strategies, and social networks. It highlights the instrumental aspects of social movements as they address their demands to the state. It says social movements seek transformations in the reward-distribution systems of modern societies, operate at the political level, and are concerned with system integration and strategic action... *NSM* theory stresses discontinuity. It identifies the structural potential for collective action by focusing on macrostructural analysis, which explains modern society's increased capacity for self-production, its constitution of new identities around new points of antagonism, and its crisis of legitimization. It emphasized the expressive nature of social movements and points out that their field of action is civil society. Social movements are concerned with cultural issues, symbolic production, normative contestation, and social integration.[103]

Despite these differences however, not only do they have enough in common he suggests, especially in comparison to previous traditional theories, they also compliment each other and could provide, once satisfactorily integrated, a more complete theory of social movements. "Given the ambiguous and contradictory nature" of social movements he argues, they might best be studied "through a more eclectic approach" borrowing from both the RMT and NSM approaches.[104]

Secondly and very importantly however, Canel argues that a more balanced and complete theory of social movement must be explained in reference to six types of factors operating at two distinct levels of analysis. At the first level of *macroprocesses*, social movement theory must explain: (i) "the structural potential for social movement activity, identifying systemic tensions, contradictions, and conflicts that can give rise to new actors;" (ii) "the nature of the political system and the relationship between the state and civil society,

including such factors as political processes and changes in the structures of political opportunities;" (iii) "the processes through which collective identities are constituted and legitimized, including political and cultural traditions, common sense, ideology, and hegemonic practices."[105] At the second level of *microprocesses*, and factors that involve "strategic-instrumental action", social movement theory must explain: (i) "the dynamics of mobilization - resource management, strategies and tactics, the role of leaders, responses of adversaries and allies;" (ii) "organizational dynamics - the nature of recruitment processes, the role of leaders and of third parties, type of goals, goal displacement;" (iii) "existing social networks - the nature of these networks, and the degree to which they have helped the group develop new leaders, communication channels, and a sense of group identity."[106]

But as important as it is to study the impact of change on the genesis and/or course of movements, whether under RD, RM or NSM theory, and as important as it is to scientific methodology to remain alert to the direction of causation flowing from social change to movements, of great interest to most organizations, groups and individuals wanting to effect change is how movements, both strategically and historically, can transform society.

The Impact of Social Movements

"Social change both generates social movements and also results from social movements," said Robert Lauer.[107] There is abundant historical and empirical evidence of societies being changed and transformed by social

movements.[108] Whether speaking of the French, Haitian, American, Mexican, Bolshevik or Nicaragua revolution, or whether speaking of the movements for labour rights, civil rights, women's rights, peace, social movements have changed the world. In many instances, participation in a SMO has for individuals transformed their personal lives and self-concept as well as encouraged them to live alternative, counter-culture lifestyles. Whether hippies or Alcoholics Anonymous, the aggregate impact of their individual actions, as with a boycott, as well as their collective actions has an impact on transforming perceptions in society, if not its very practices and policies. But:

> [I]t should not be forgotten that any social movement makes up a part of the very society undergoing change, includes some (and sometimes quite a massive) segment of its members and embraces some (and sometimes quite a large) area of its functioning. Therefore it is in fact internal to society, acting on society from within. It is a case of society changing society.[109]

There is also an "intimate mutual link" peculiar to social movements states Sztompka, whereby "they change society, changing themselves in the process, and they change themselves (mobilize, organize) in order to change society more effectively. Changes *in* the movement and changes *by* the movement go hand in hand, making mutually interlinked, concurrent processes."[110] For this reason G. Marx and J. Wood claim that "social movements are more dynamic than most other social forms".[111] Sztompka insists, "they are social change *par excellence*".[112]

It so happens that changes resulting from movement activity not only occur simultaneously in several directions but they can all too often be

unanticipated if not altogether undesirable.[113] Some call this phenomena of unintended negative consequences the 'boomerang' effect. Ash provides an example of unintended and unanticipated consequences in her comparison of radical and reform movements in the United States.[114] Having assessed that radical movements were far less successful than the reform movements, she further researched the issue only to find that reform movements had been greatly assisted by the other because elites were 'impressed by the mild nature of reformist demands' when confronted with the radical movements. Thus, by appearing to provide a moderate alternative to radical movement demands, reform movements benefited at the expense of the other.

Not necessarily a function of their success or failure, a consequence of the (original) movement's felt presence can be observed as it enters a 'loosely coupled conflict' with a countermovement, especially around volatile and polarized issues. As Zald and Useem state:

> [M]ovements of any visibility and impact create conditions for the mobilization of countermovements. By advocating change, by attacking the established interests, by mobilizing symbols and raising costs to others, they create grievances and provide opportunities for organizational entrepreneurs to define countermovement goals and issue.[115]

Gaining its impetus and growth from "showing the harmful effects of the movement," a countermovement "chooses its tactics in response to the structure and tactics of the [original] movement."[116] And "[t]he appearance of strong countermovements" warns Sztompka, "usually leads to the dogmatization, rigidity and inflexibility of the movement's structure, strongly enforced loyalty,

tight integration in the organizational forms and the oligarchization (bureaucratization) of authority."[117]

Having discussed the impact of change on social movements vis-à-vis NSM, RD and RM theory, and having briefly observed the impact of social movements on society and upon themselves, we will complete the chapter by briefly exploring how social movement strategy determines the concrete decisions and tactics to transform society. The larger purpose here is to better understand the role and context of education in social movement strategy and theory in transforming society.

Movement Strategies for Change

Possibly the broadest classification of social change strategies is Walton (1965) who differentiated two types: those involving power tactics which seeks "concessions in substantive areas" and; and those utilizing attitude change activities which aims to improve relationships.[118] Turner (1970) expanded the strategy typology to three, identifying persuasion, bargaining, and coercion as the most general types.[119] Outside of social movement studies, Chin and Benne offered a general typology of three change strategies: "empirical-rational" which assumes people will act in accord with self-interest when the advantages/benefits; "normative-reeducative" which in addition to rationality and intelligence, assumes people act in response to normative patterns as a result of certain attitudes, values, skills and relationships which can (and should) be generated and learned and; "power-coercive" which assumes people may

comply (although not necessarily respect) superior power.[120] Hoehne for one would say that with NSMs come new strategies:

> The indicators for the potential of social change in society today are different from those used in the past. During the 1960s and into the 1970s, the potential was "visible." It was expressed in protest rallies, membership in left-wing groups - even in voting for leftist parties. However, it was a relatively closed group that constituted that potential. The group was ideologically distinct and predominantly made up of the younger section of the population... Today the potential for social change is "invisible"; it is private. Those engaging in pro-social change activities are active in small groups, putting their energies into working on the immediate problems of their members instead of addressing the global concerns of the day in a highly visible way. Organizing in small groups has replaced "the party" as a form of organizing for social change.[121]

All movements adopt a strategy for change which employs any number and combination of different "tactical" techniques and methods including public protests, letter writing, every kind of demonstration, boycotts, lobbying, publishing, advertising, to name only a few. Because the choice of strategy can mean the difference of achieving or not achieving movement aims and goals, developing and implementing a coherent and effective overall strategy is critical to a social movement's success. As Green has commented:

> Without a common approach to strategy it is impossible to build a common Movement. A common approach to strategy is needed to help pull together the present disparate, amorphous, confused and divided Movement into a serious, on-going and growing force for... change."[122]

Movement strategies are in large part, determined by movement aims and goals. Movements which primarily target changing individuals also take two forms. First, sacred, mystical or religious movements endeavour to spiritually

reform or convert individuals, often members and non-members alike. Secular movements on the other hand seek "the personal, moral or physical well-being of members..."[123] Both the structure-directed movements and the personality-oriented movements make an implicit but questionable assumption that the modification in one (structure or person) will eventually remold the other. Consider the following statement about one category of personality-oriented movement, the Western phenomenon of self-help groups (SHGs):

> SHGs are not direct instruments of social change. They contribute to social change in an indirect way. An individual joins a SHG and receives the support necessary to cope with his or her problem. The acquired coping strategies provide the individual with an arsenal of new skills and capabilities which, once learned, can be applied to new situations...The experience of non-hierarchical decision-making in a cooperative setting challenges the dominant doctrine of representational rule and majority-based decision-making. Thus, it challenges the legitimacy claim of established political procedures... Providing these conditions of emancipatory praxis is an important contribution of SHGs to social change.[124]

Movements which aim to change a particular element of society without transforming its core institutional structure, preferring "change *in* rather than change *of*", are called reform movements.[125] Sometimes they can be "sociocultural movements as they address more intangible aspects of social life, promoting changes in beliefs, creeds, values, norms, symbols, everyday life-patterns."[126] Included in this category would be pro- and anti-abortion movements seeking legislation changes and animal rights movements demanding a ban on animal-testing. Movements demanding deeper changes of the very foundations of social organization, demands which will produce a

structural transformation *of* society, are usually called radical or transformational movements. These can also be called "sociopolitical movements [because they] attempt changes in politics, economics class and stratificational hierarchies".[127] Charles Tilly calls them "national social movements" which sustain "a challenge to state authorities in the name of a population that has little formal power with respect to the state."[128] Many insist that for a radical/emancipatory SMO to accomplish its ends, it will need to employ a radical strategy:

> The essence of a strategy, a revolutionary strategy, is to build a consciousness based upon the transformation of existing power into the sphere of daily life. All existing power structures must be challenged, and the demand must be to decentralize established power to the local... base. Such a demand cannot be separated from a transformation of social relations. This, in turn, must be based on a class-analysis. Class struggle and socialism must be in the forefront of the program of such a movement.[129]

To build such a consciousness requires adult education of some kind. Good examples of transformative organizations using adult education are the civil rights movement in the US, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and national liberation movements in colonial countries.[130]

Millenarian, fascist and communist movements are said to be revolutionary movements because the intended changes "embrace all core aspects of the social structure (political, economic and cultural) and are aimed at achieving a total transformation of society in the direction of some preconceived image of an 'alternative society' or 'social utopia'."[131] Another distinction made in social movement strategy is the difference between 'instrumental' and 'expressive' logic. The Green Party in Germany or the Solidarity bloc in Poland

are recent examples of former movements having applied 'instrumental' strategy or logic because they strive to obtain political power with the intention of changing legislation, institutions and the general organization of society.[132] For them, becoming a political party is a means to achieve their movement goals. Movements operating with an "expressive" logic such as the civil rights, ethnic, gay rights and women's liberation movement, "strive to affirm identity, to gain acceptance for their values or ways of life, to achieve autonomy, equal rights, cultural and political emancipation..."[133]

Given the critical nature of choosing the appropriate strategy, there are several problems surrounding the choice of strategy which make decisions difficult for decision-makers. Because most movements are so heterogeneous in composition, agreeing on a strategy suitable to everyone is made all the more difficult because there is rarely consensus of the movement goals and aims. Secondly, it is not uncommon for movements to have multiple and widely varied goals which usually requires different and thus relatively complex strategies. Furthermore, stated goals are frequently compromised through movement rhetoric aimed at motivating members as well as competing with other movements for position but most often to attract members (ironically diversifying the constituency even more). Finally, some insist that a "movement's strategy should be congruent with its ideology of change."[134] Movements such as the Libertarian and Women's Liberation in the United States while advocating essentially revolutionary change, employed mostly reformist strategies such as

education and pressure for improved legislation.[135] Lauer suggests that three outcomes must occur where there is a contradiction between the ideology of change and the strategy or strategies employed: "the goals of such movements will be modified; their strategies will be altered; or they will be considered failures."[136]

When choosing strategies, movements must also be cognizant of the need to recruit and develop new members and support from the public. If a movement does not recruit sufficient new members to replace its rate of attrition then it must at least generate a base of sympathetic support within the public. Implementing a strategy that employs questionable tactics (in the public's perception) to achieve movement goals can quite easily be at odds with maintaining a positive public image. Wilson admonishes movement decision-makers of that very issue:

> Social movements are often remembered more for the methods of persuasion adopted by them than for their objectives. This is because social movements relate to the general public through their tactical behavior, it is the "face" which the public sees and responds to. In comparison with this, the specific objectives of the movement, its constitution, and its sources of support may be relatively obscure.[137]

On the other hand, a negative public image (or at least an image that was obtained through infamous means and tactics) sometimes promotes a prolific image to politicians and policy makers. Militant movements (separate from terrorist organizations) confront an especially difficult task having to simultaneously convince the public and their members that their strategy (and

often goals) legitimately warrant support. Leaders of militant movements must consistently balance a revolutionary strategy that demonstrates consistent strength/force to its members while promoting a relatively and sufficiently moderate image to the public which will hopefully broaden their base of support.

What is not clear in social movement research or theory is an understanding of how and why a social movement may choose and employ education, if at all, as a strategy. Except for some work on prior education, the learning of adults in social movement research is not a priority. While it is a strategy for most if not all movements, the processes are poorly understood. Consequently, we have little theoretical understanding of effective and ineffective education, adult or otherwise, from social movement theory. In some cases education is not even perceived of as social movement strategy. Robert Lauer suggests there are at least six different types of social change strategies including the educative, small group, bargaining, separatist, disruptive, and revolutionary.[138] The threefold criteria for distinguishing the strategies are; proximate target of change, degree of force required, and identifying who implements the change (as seen in Table 4.1). It is presumed that (formal) education only targets the individual *and not structure*, and it is general society, not social movements, which is responsible for implementing it.

Table 4.1 Lauer's Typology of Strategies for Social Change

Type	Target of Change	Force Required	Who Implements
Educative	Individuals	Nonviolent	Society
Small Group	Individuals	Nonviolent	Movement
Bargaining	Social Structure	Nonviolent	Society
Separatist	Social Structure	Nonviolent	Movement
Disruptive	Social Structure	Coercive/Violent	Society
Revolutionary	Social Structure	Coercive/Violent	Movement

In the end, most movements do implement an educative strategy. For social movement, people essentially need to accept new or stronger beliefs and attitudes, people must be persuaded rationally through various means. The premise of most movements' education strategies seem to be based on people's rationality and self-interest - people act on the basis of self-interest it is assumed so if a specific value or belief can be demonstrated rationally as being advantageous to them, they will accept and follow it.

For many movements transforming beliefs and values through adult education, usually non-formal, is a priority. The ecological movement has made non-formal adult education a central element in their campaign but they are quick to realize that most educational processes will not promote the ultimate objectives of conservation. Pepper states:

> Education frequently *fails* to encourage critical awareness and an ability to think in new and creative ways. It does this by emphasizing, often mindlessly, the techniques of how to do things. But it neglects consideration of values and morality. Hence it does not encourage [people] to question received and conventional wisdom.[139]

Pepper then argues that if the ecological movement is 'to succeed', then it needs to simultaneously educate and seek structural reform in society:

> What, then, is the real way forward, if it is not to be solely or even largely through education? It must be through seeking *reform at the material base of society, concurrent with educational change*, otherwise any effects of the latter will be ephemeral. Such reforms must, to be ecologically and socially acceptable, be along socialist lines.[140]

But in social movement theory, education as a strategy is usually referred to, when at all, in vague terms. Given the absence of sufficient information in social movement theory about the role and relationship of education in general, and adult education in particular, to social movements, we will try to pursue the issue in the next chapter from another approach. Before doing that, we will conclude the chapter with a brief discussion about the important concept of success in social movements.

Strategies for Success

> "What has been done" is a question too often neglected in our anxiety to determine "what is to be done." Our libraries contain many more studies of political parties and the working class than of either the history or the current practices of Canadian social movements.
> Social Movements/Social Change: The Politics and Practice of Organizing

Whatever the strategy, movements are interested in successfully changing and transforming their environment to meet their particular set of aims

and demands. Success however, is an elusive and enigmatic goal for social movements. An interesting approach to the concept of successful strategies is to back into it and ask why people choose to participate in social movements. Social movement literature addressing that question is divided into four opinions states Eric Swank:

> [E]xpectations of political concessions and instrumental success induces movement participation; others suggest that activism springs from an adherence to moral codes; a third group believes the fun and spontaneous nature of movements draws some activists... while the final group of scholars suggest the purpose of activism in "new social movements" is to disseminate the type of knowledge that can devastate "abhorrent "institutions. [141]

"Success" said William Gamson, "is an elusive idea".[142] In his landmark, comprehensive, and highly controversial project, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (1975 and revised in 1990), Gamson attempts to identify the characteristics that distinguish successful protest groups from their unsuccessful counterparts. He defines a protest group as an excluded group "seeking the mobilization of an immobilized constituency" which confronts an "antagonist [existing] outside of its constituency."[143] Success he suggests, is best thought of as:

> [A] set of outcomes falling into two clusters: one concerned with the fate of the challenging group as an organization and one with the distribution of new advantages to the group's beneficiary. The central issue in the first cluster focuses on the *acceptance* of a challenging group by its antagonist as a valid spokesman for a legitimate set of interests. The central issue in the second cluster focuses on whether the group's beneficiary gains *new advantages* during the challenge and its aftermath.[144]

To complete his project Gamson analyzed twelve different variables amongst a representative sample of 53 United States protest groups between

1800 and 1945. The independent variables which Gamson identified to be important in determining protest group success included whether or not the group: (1) was active during a crisis; (2) attempted to displace authorities; (3) had centralized authority; (4) was bureaucratically organized; (5) made use of selective incentives; (6) focused on a single issue; (7) was subject to factional splits; (8) had external support; (9) used violence; (10) was subject to violent attacks; (11) used nonviolent constraints; (12) was subject to nonviolent constraints.[145]

Gamson's results showed that the protest group's goals, organization, tactics and social context along with its relationship with other groups, "both antagonists and friends, were important determinants of a group's acceptance by and ability to gain new advantages from authorities."[146] While there has been considerable methodological criticism of Gamson's work along with several attempts to reanalyze his data, there have also been numerous studies to generally support his findings.[147]

Major findings of some of the more recent reanalyzes of Gamson's data in conjunction with analysis of modern protest movements are worth citing (in order of their strength). They found that protest groups with displacement goals reduced their chances of success by 40 per cent; that the adverse effects of factionalism are second only to displacement goals; that groups active during a national crisis were more likely to succeed than those that were not (in fact success itself was more likely to occur during crises); that goals which

threatened established power were very difficult to achieve; that groups were more likely to fail if they had been subjected to violence but as Gamson noted, success comes to the unruly given that those using violence are more likely to succeed than those who do not.[148] And "[a]bove all," Frey et al summarize, "organizations must remain unified to achieve their goals" because "when factionalism begins, the new faction competes with the parent for resources."[149]

In *Poor People's Movements*, Piven and Cloward state, "[w]hat was won must be judged by what was possible".[150] Sztompka confers suggesting, "[j]udging the effectiveness of the movement in introducing structural changes requires relativization. The effect on external structures may be evaluated as relative to the movement's proclaimed goals, or in comparison to concrete, objectively given historical chances."[151]

Scott, along with others, states that the whole concept of success is regularly misconstrued because it is too often reduced to a measurement of concessions afforded by the state. In Gamson's work, the antagonist most commonly taking on the challenging movement as a 'valid spokesperson for a legitimate set of interests' is the state. To Gamson, the belief that the movement's beneficiary gains new advantages during the challenge and in its aftermath is more questionable than the fact that the 'new advantages' are most often conceded by the state. Even the NSM project which focuses on the politics of identity, cultural transformation and establishing autonomy from the state often measures success by how many of their demands are addressed and met

by the state. Few measure success by their ability to transform economic-business institutions, political parties or public lifestyles (although public opinion is seen as an important element in influencing political decisions).

The Social Movement Empowerment Project in San Francisco is a technical assistance program that has developed the Movement Action Plan (MAP) and educates activists to use it. MAP is an eight stage plan to assist almost any kind of social movement to be successful. The eight stages are: (I) normal times; (ii) failure of institutions; (iii) ripening conditions; (iv) movement take-off; (v) powerlessness; (vi) majority public support; (vii) success: (viii) continuing the struggle.[152] Moyer describes the success stage as starting "when the new social and political consensus turns the tide of power against the powerholders and begins an 'endgame' process" which can take three forms, (1) "dramatic showdown, a new trigger event leads to rapid change" (e.g.) the toppling of Philippines' Marcos following the call for elections; (2) "quiet showdown, which is slightly longer and less visible" also called victorious retreat where powerholders lose on the issue but reverse their policies declaring victory for themselves (e.g.) Reagan's face-saving agreement with Gorbachev to end Euromissiles, and (3) "attrition, which is much longer and less obvious" i.e. powerholders leave the point of conflict quietly and slowly.[153] The experience of social movements however suggests the map and road to success continues to be a much more complex, dynamic and uncertain journey full of contradictions and setbacks.

Summary

Social movements by definition are agents of social change - some say the primary agent. What is certain is that they play a critical mediating role in society being 'both producer and product' of social change. RD theory and RM theory and NSM theory all seek, in part, to explain the preceding social processes that "produce" social movements. Prior formal education is one of those preceding forces. The 'critical' project of producing a different social order than exists has historically been the project of countless people's organizations that confront their antagonist. The constituents of these SMOs are portrayed as the "new middle class" in the North and the lower class (blacks, mothers, etc.,) in Latin America but all that seems certain is that the working class and their unions now have far less representation.

The discussion of the impact of social change on social movements focused on emergence and development of movements as theorized first by the RD school and secondly by the RM school. RM theorists have for the last twenty years greatly contested RD theory's central premise that movements arise because some group has a strong sense of relative, as compared to absolute, deprivation or disadvantage. Arguing that deprivation and grievance are a pervasive constant in society and thus insufficient cause to be responsible for insurgent actions, RM theorists now dominate U. S. social movement research based on their theory that few individuals will bear the personal costs to obtain collective goods and therefore attention must be given to the selection of

incentives and access and limits to resources by movements. Criticized for not addressing the "why" of social movements and only the "how", NSM theory rivals and balances the shortcomings of RMT. Given the shortcomings of both theories, some theorists now see their integration as the best means to understand social movement.

Movements take little comfort in the fact that one 'success' of their efforts is often creating opposition in the form of a countermovement. In assessing the impact of social movements on social change, RMT theorists have indicated that strategy and tactics matter. Unfortunately there are few definitive strategies proven to secure ever elusive movement success. Besides a vast number of both movements and strategies which has complicated research, there is a great void in social movement research concerning the role and processes of education, adult, non-formal or otherwise, as a social movement strategy. Education has played a somewhat obsequious and misunderstood role in social movement history. Understanding the role and context of adult education in building movements that transform society is a critical step in promoting just, peaceful, and democratic societies. That we will have to look outside of social movement and social change theory is clear.

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[1] Sztompka, 1993: p. 274
[2] Adamson and Borgos, 1984: p. 12 as quoted in Sztompka, Ibid. p. 277 (Italics not mine)
[3] Lauer, 1976: p. xii
[4] Spencer, 1874: p. 401 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid.
[5] Sorokin, 1942: p. 23 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid. p. xii
[6] Campbell, 1965: p. 27 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid. p. xii
[7] Sztompka, 1993: p. 277
[8] Blumer, 1951: p. 154 as quoted in Wilkinson, 1971: p. 19
[9] Killian, 1964: p. 426 as quoted in Wilkinson, Ibid
[10] Touraine, 1977: p. 298
[11] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p. 26 as quoted in Sztompka, 1993: p. 274

[12] Lauer, 1976: p. xiii
[13] Lang and Lang, 1961: as quoted in Lauer, Ibid: p. 507
[14] Lauer, 1976: p. xiv
[15] Sztompka. 1993: p. 277
[16] Ibid. pp. 277-8
[17] Burns et al, 1985: p. iv as quoted in Sztompka, Ibid.
[18] Sztompka, 1991: p. 159
[19] Gamson in Introduction to Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p. 1
[20] Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p. 251
[21] Ibid. p. 20
[22] Ibid. p. 20
[23] Ibid. p. 20
[24] Ibid. p. 21
[25] Ibid. p. 22
[26] Garner and Zald, 1981: pp. 1-2 as quoted in Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p. 14
[27] Ibid.
[28] Sztompka, 1991: p. 285
[29] Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p.21
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Zald and McCarthy, 1987: pp. 21-2
[33] Carroll, 1992: p. 23
[34] Calderon et al, 1992: p. 22
[35] We are reminded of David Slater's comment that:[In e]xamining the contributions of the NSMs, an aspect of continuity with the 'older' [social movement] approaches can be observed, namely the tripartite division of the social. The old distinction between the economy, politics and ideology somehow returns in the distinctions between money, administrative power and life-world (Habermas); organization, institutions and culture (Touraine); commodification, bureaucratization and mass media (Laclau and Mouffe); or production, power and experience (Castells). (1990: p. 66)
[36] Korten, 1990: pp. 95-6
[37] Korten, Ibid. pp. 96-7 based on K. E. Boulding's, *Three Faces of Power*, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1989). Korten states he uses Boulding's concept of integrative power as encompassing legitimacy, respect, affection, love, community and identity.
[38] Korten, Ibid. pp. 97-8
[39] Ibid. p. 2
[40] Ibid. p. 100
[41] Ibid. p. 127
[42] Korten p. 126
[43] Carroll, 1992: p. 10
[44] Ibid. p. 2
[45] Concertacion Centroamericana de Organismos de Desarollo, 'Memoria: Reunion do Organismos No-Gubernamentales para la Constitucion de la Concertacion Centroamericana de Organismos de Desarollo,' San Jose, Costa Rica, November 1988, pp. 24-5 as quoted in McDonald, 1995: p.211
[46] Offe, 1984: p. 293
[47] Calderon et al, 1992: p. 26
[48] Frank and Fuentes, 1992 as quoted in Hellman, 1992: p. 53
[49] Hellman, 1992: p. 54
[50] Piven and Cloward, 1977: pp. 3-4
[51] Roberts and Kloss, 1974: pp. 50-51
[52] Canel, 1992: p. 25
[53] Boggs, 1986: pp. 25-6
[54] Tarrow, 1986: p. 161 as quoted in Ibid.
[55] Swank, 1993: p. 32

[56] Ibid.
[57] Boggs, 1986; Campbell, 1962; McDermid and Stevenson, 1991; Zald and McCarthy, 1987
[58] Sztompka, 1991: p. 295
[59] Campbell, 1962: p. 20 as quoted in Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p.342 Italics mine.
[60] Brint, 1984: p. 61 as quoted in Kriesi, 1989: p. 1086
[61] Kriesi, 1989: p. 1087
[62] Almond and Verba, 1963: pp. 380-1 as quoted in Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p. 342
[63] Nie, Powell, and Prewitt, 1969 as quoted in Zald and McCarthy, Ibid. p. 343
[64] Morgan et al, 1975 as quoted in Zald and McCarthy, Ibid. p. 26
[65] Zald and McCarthy, Ibid.
[66] MacDermid and Stevenson, 1991: p. 14
[67] Ibid.
[68] Howard, 1974: p. 141
[69] Swank, 1993: pp. 47-8
[70] Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970 as quoted in Krahn and Harrison, 1992: p. 192
[71] Krahn and Harrison, 1992: pp. 192-3
[72] Ibid. p. 192 More formalized versions of RD theory were developed after the Second World War in the publication of "the American Soldier" studies (Stouffer et, 1949: Ibid.). Davies' (1962) "J-curve" model argued that "revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal" (Davies, 1962: as quoted in Khawaja, 1994: p. 194). Runciman (1966) followed by "distinguishing between egoistic RD which results from comparisons with other members of one's in-group (e.g., friends and relatives), and fraternal RD, the product of comparisons with some other external reference group" (Krahn and Harrison, 1992: pp. 193). Gurr (1970, 1972) then refined Davies' "progressive deprivation" model breaking RD into two types: "inspirational" and "decremental" (Gurr, 1970: as quoted in Khawaja: Ibid.). Inspirational deprivation "refers to the gap between rising expectation among people and stable capability of attaining valued conditions to which they believe they are entitled" (Ibid.). Decremental deprivation "results when the satisfaction of people's expectations becomes increasingly unlikely" (Ibid.). Gurr's hypothesis, probably the most applied RD research model, "is that the greater the feeling of RD - the discrepancy between expectations and capabilities of obtaining valued resources - the greater the likelihood of collective strife, whatever its form" (Ibid.).
[73] Walker and Pettigrew, 1984: p. 306 as quoted in Khawaja, Ibid. p. 193
[74] Sztompka, 1993: p. 280
[75] Ibid.
[76] Morrison, 1971: p. xvii
[77] Lauer, 1976: p. xvi
[78] Toqueville, 1955: pp. 175-77 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid.
[79] RD theory is far from extinct with neo-RDT research occurring in areas such as Collective Identity (CI) theory.
[80] Useem, 1975: pp. 22-23
[81] Ibid.
[82] Morris and Herring, 1987 p. 139 as quoted in Khawaja, 1994: p. 191
[83] Khawaja, 1994: p. 194
[84] Tilly et al, 1975: p. 27
[85] Jenkins and Perrow, 1977 as quoted in Khawaja, 1994: p. 194
[86] McCarthy and Zald 1977 as quoted in Khawaja, Ibid.
[87] Khawaja, Ibid.
[88] Gamson, 1975; McAdam, 1982; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978. as quoted in Khawaja, Ibid. p. 195 see especially, Oberschall, 1973.
[89] Khawaja, Ibid. p. 195
[90] McCarthy and Zald, 1987: pp. 18-9
[91] Khawaja, 1994: p. 195
[92] Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; McAdam, 1982. as quoted in Khawaja, Ibid.
[93] Jenkins et al as quoted in Khawaja, Ibid.

[94] Khawaja, Ibid. p. 196
[95] Stoecker, 1995: p. 111
[96] Persisting, Stoecker cites other critics who charge that RM theory: [N]eglects social movement 'identity,' assuming that (1) ideas, beliefs, and values are a given and constant influence (Mueller 1992; Tarrow 1992), (2) individuals are self-interested rather than immersed in collective identities (Mueller 1992; Ferree 1992), and (3) movements are either expressive *or* instrumental (Wittier and Taylor 1989). Ibid.
[97] Scott, 1990: p. 129
[98] Ibid.
[99] Melucci, 1989: Point 1 as quoted in Scott, 1990: p. 9
[100] Scott, 1990: p.129
[101] Ibid. p. 9
[102] Canel, 1992: pp. 46-7 (italics mine)
[103] Ibid. p. 49
[104] Ibid. p. 49
[105] Ibid. p. 50
[106] Ibid. p. 50
[107] Lauer, 1976: p. xiv
[108] Lundberg and associates for example define societal change as involving "alterations in interaction patterns" whereas cultural change refers to "modifications of social norms, belief systems symbolic systems, values, or technology". Lundberg, Shrag, Larsen, and Catton, 1963: p. 583
[109] Sztompka, 1993: p. 278
[110] Ibid.
[111] Marx and Wood, 1975: p. 394 as quoted in Sztompka, Ibid.
[112] Sztompka, 1993: p. 278
[113] Lauer, 1976: p. xxvi [Lauer himself addresses the issue of unanticipated results stating, "The notion of unintended and unanticipated consequences of social action has a long history in sociology, and is applicable to social movements as well as to social action in general].
[114] Ash, 1972: pp. 230-231
[115] Zald and Useem, 1982: p. 1 as quoted in Sztompka, 1993: p. 284
[116] Sztompka, Ibid.
[117] Sztompka, 1993: p. 285
[118] Walton, 1965 as quoted in Lauer, 1976: p. 86
[119] Turner, 1970, p. 147 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid.
[120] Chin and Benne, 1969: pp. 32-59 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid.
[121] Hoehne, 1988: pp. 248-9
[122] Green, 1971: p. 142 as quoted in Lauer, Ibid.
[123] Lauer, Ibid.
[124] Hoehne, 1988: p. 242
[125] Sztompka, 1993: p. 281
[126] Sztompka, Ibid.
[127] Sztompka, 1993: p. 282
[128] Tilly, 1985: p.1 as quoted in Sztompka, Ibid.
[129] Roussopoulos, 1992: p. 204
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Sztompka, Ibid. p. 283
[133] Ibid.
[134] Lauer, 1976: p. xx
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Wilson, 1973: p. 228 Few "baby-boomer" Canadians for example, would forget or endorse the "methods of persuasion" employed by the *Front Liberation du Quebec* (FLQ) in the late 60s and early 70s while the often flamboyant and criticized strategies of the Greenpeace

environmental movement, effectively polarizes public opinion the world over, mostly to its advantage.

[138] Lauer, 1976: p. 82

[139] Pepper, 1984: p. 217-8

[140] Ibid. p. 224 Italics original.

[141] Swank, 1993: p. 31

[142] Gamson, 1975: p. 28

[143] Ibid. p. 17

[144] Ibid. p. 28

[145] Ibid. and as followed in Frey et al, 1992: p. 377

[146] Frey, Ibid. p. 369

[147] The criticism, according to Frey et al can be summarized as: (1) failing to use multivariate techniques; (2) improperly coding various group characteristics and ; (3) counting three pairs of interrelated groups as independent. As Frey et al suggest, [t]here is no ideal statistical procedure for a problem with a dichotomous dependent variable, 53 or fewer cases, and 12 independent variables" Frey, Ibid. p. 389.

[148] Ibid. pp. 383-4

[149] Ibid.

[150] Piven and Cloward, 1979: p. xiii

[151] Sztompka, 1993: p. 292

[152] Moyer, 1988: pp. 8-9

[153] Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

> Education can be a fundamental instrument of social change.
> Martin Carnoy[1]

> Social movements are inherently educative. They engage people who are motivated, and motivation is a key to participation and learning in adult education. The peace, women's and green movement are powerful forms of adult education.[2]

This chapter begins by briefly surveying the combined and radical Western history of adult education (AE) and social movements noting their significant reflexive and symbiotic role. After analyzing the conditions that led to the earlier dilution and then renaissance of emancipatory AE, the discussion will turn to examine a recent development and debate of adult educationalists. They have been searching for possibilities of recasting AE theory in light of NSM theory. Finally, Holford's perspective of recasting AE theory using Eyerman and Jamison's cognitive praxis theory of social movements is presented. A discussion of the means and merits of analyzing the organizational nature and movement intellectuals in social movements promotes, at the very least, emancipatory AE research at the site of social movements.

Radical Social Movements: Roots of Adult Education

> What distinguishes the field of worker education from adult or vocational programs... is its focus on union workers, labour history, and political and social change".[3]

Relevant AE, what some called 'really useful knowledge,' was available to the 'common people' - the working class mainly - as early as 1790. R. H. Tawney suggests that many of the early AE initiatives, arising from the efforts of trade union, community and social activists, were actually part and parcel of social movements committed to "removing the social, cultural and economic barriers to a more just society... [t]hey believed that [AE] had a vitally important role to play in this process of peaceful social change."[4]

Ranging from conservative, to liberal, to radical approaches, AE was often linked to other activities such as: "folk high schools with co-operatives in Denmark; Scandinavian study circles with Scandinavian social democracy; Land Grant Colleges with rural development in the USA" not to mention the large 'People's Theatre'; People's Universities and Libraries; and AE unions active in Milan after 1893.[5] Thus, AE, itself considered a social movement, historically played an integral role in many movements advanced by peasants, farmers, labourers, cultural and ethnic proponents, religious adherents and civil rights activists to name a few.

Central to many national educational movements and labour movements in both Europe and North America was the European Folk High School movement. Beginning in 1844, the humanistic education of the Danish Folk High School was most closely associated with the co-operative movement but also with Danish nationalism and culture in the nineteenth century.[6] However, in the other Scandinavian countries the Folk High Schools were more closely

connected with the labour movement. In 1907, Finnish socialists established a Work People's College in Duluth, Minnesota providing workers with "hard intellectual education, within a Marxist perspective, and training in practical skills" where "knowledge and experience gained in strikes and other industrial activity were regarded not as interruptions of school work but as genuine education."[7]

Playing an important part in the American labour movement up to the late 1930s whereupon it was increasingly weakened by conservative trade unions and governments, the Work People's College and the American Labour College Movement stated as its objective:

> [T]o recognize the existence of class struggle in society and [prepare courses of study] so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system can more effectively carry on an organized struggle for the attainment of industrial demands and ultimately the realization of a new social order.[8]

The Brookwood Labor College (1921-37) in Katanah, New York, and Commonwealth College (1923-41) in Mena, Arkansas were the two primary contemporaries of the Work People's College.

Richard Altenbaugh in his book, *Education for Struggle: The American Labor Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s*, states that the roots of workers' education are the roots of [presumably American] AE. Quoting Henry de Man, Altenbaugh makes his own view of labour education clear; "[w]hen [labour] creates its own classes and colleges, it says: I shall no longer think at your command."[9] In days when involvement with labour meant putting one's life and

livelihood at risk, workers' education was 'serious business'. Comparing the different focus of the labour colleges, the Work People's College "pursued an educational approach based on developing a revolutionary worker who would resist capitalism in order to achieve a new social order."[10] Less radical in their approach, the other two colleges "saw education as the means of social reconstruction needed to rebuild the social order."[11]

In her book, *A New Deal for Workers' Education: The Workers' Service Program, 1933-1942,* Kornbluh reveals the many and intricate connections between workers' education in the labour movement to progressive liberalism, socialism, and the Social Gospel. She suggests that it was John Dewey's progressive ideals which inspired the preeminence of education in the 20th century labour movement. "Dewey's assertion that the *process* of a democratic education would lead to a democratic society " she states, "became the maxim of adult educators in general, and workers' education leaders in particular."[12] But independent labour colleges became increasingly obsolete as the labour unions gained strength in the early 1930s and started offering their own programs. In addition, and arguably more important, Roosevelt's New Deal introduced workers' education supported by the government with such programs as the Workers' Education Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The British Labour Education Movement

Back across the Atlantic in the early twenties, the Ruskin workers' residential College at Oxford was closely linked to trade unions. Adult education

was promoted through the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) and trained workers through a similar project as the American Labour College Movement.[13] After 1929, the rigid Marxist pedagogy and conservative teaching methods of NCLC, considered a revolutionary movement, were eclipsed by the more traditional liberal approach of the Worker' Education Association (WEA), best described as a reformist movement. Increasingly throughout the 1930s, students demonstrated a preference to more democratic and flexible teaching methods which proved to be more successful in developing a more critical and analytical, if not participatory, educational approach. Although less active in creating practical and local alternatives to systemic problems, both NCLC and WEA were successful however in training several generations of leaders in the trade union and labour movements. Contravening NCLC principles of independence and autonomy, WEA insisted on and won state support for workers' education as well as demanding equal access to educational facilities provided by the state. This evolved into a major tenet of popular liberal politics and became the main feature of the Labour Party's educational policy. Only WEA survives today.

The Chartist movement of early nineteenth century Britain like the NCLC opposed all provided and state centralized education.[14] Its own structure was extremely informal, flexible and non-dogmatic sponsoring numerous educational activities including communal readings, discussion groups, traveling scholars, newspapers often closely connected with family activities, the local

neighbourhood and work. Lovett states, "[t]here was no distinction between education and non-education... The emphasis was on really useful knowledge and collective enterprise... The strategy was one of establishing alternatives."[15] They viewed centralized education as 'essentially political, part of a political movement' and often debated its future role in changing the world.

Highlander Adult Education

Back again over the Atlantic, inspired by the Danish Folk High School, the radical Baptist minister Myles Horton opened the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee in 1932.[16] He was committed to "educating rural and industrial leaders for a new social order as well as enriching the indigenous cultural values of the [local] mountains."[17] Throughout the 1930s and war years, Highlander worked very closely with the emerging southern labour movement directing "large-scale labour education programs in eleven southern states, and developed a residential program to build a broad-based, racially integrated, and politically active labour movement in the region."[18] With the declining militancy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the "maturation" of the southern labour movement, and after several more years working with various southern state Farmer's Unions, Highlander abruptly turned its attention to the civil rights movement in 1953.

Within a year of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling, Highlander began workshops for black and white community leaders and students on public school desegregation but gradually expanded to challenge the core issues

which were resisting community-wide and nationwide integration. Developing workshops in leadership development, literacy training and voter education, including a Citizenship School project on the South Carolina Sea Islands, Highlander "thus served as a resource and a catalyst for action, inspiring grass-roots leaders to work for greater human dignity and justice".[19] As Glen states, "[t]hrough these programs Highlander became the educational center of the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s."[20] People such as Septima Clark, Rosa Parks, Bernice Robinson, Esau Jenkins, Abner W. Berry, Martin Luther King and Bernard Lafayette, known as "the horsemen" of racial agitation, were all deeply involved at Highlander.[21]

But as the role of Highlander became more prolific in the struggle for racial equality, white segregationists branded it a "Communist training school" and assaulted Highlander through legislative investigations, propaganda campaigns, and dramatic trials resulting in Tennessee officials revoking its charter and confiscating its property in 1962. Having anticipated its fate, Highlander secured a charter for the new Highlander Research and Education Center which finally settled in New Market, Tennessee in 1971. More recently, "environmental groups are using highlander for education and for building a more broad-based movement. In 1990, Highlander hosted over 60 workshops and gatherings, involving over 2,000 people from 40 states."[22]

Highlander's Partnership Approach to Adult Education and Social Action

Glen remarks that it was involvement in local movements that radicalized, and alienated, Highlander AE:

> It is not this involvement in social action alone, however, which has led more traditional educators to resist the Highlander approach and which made the school unique. The process obviously yields programs which derive their shape and content from the social context out of which they emerge, but at the same time, frequently provide an unwelcomed unveiling of embedded contradictions to powerful social and political institutions. As a result, Highlander has endured first-hand the best and worst the South has to offer. It has been recipient of unsolicited generosity and unprovoked violence, supported and harassed, admired and betrayed, the object of praise and vilification. Highlander is a uniquely Southern institution which has evolved over half a century in the context of uniquely Southern movements.[23]

The principle axiom for Highlander's approach to AE has been 'learn from the people and start education where they are'. Playing down traditional pedagogical methods, Highlander instead favoured the reflection-action process which focused on the people in social movements. Practically speaking, Highlander staff would assume a 'learning stance', a period of many months and often years during which no staff assumed they had solutions to local problems, working along side communities to seek solutions to community problems and identify local leaders. In this 'educational partnership', Highlander encouraged peers to seek 'answers from each other and within their own experience' believing 'answers come from the people'.[24] "And when people don't have the answers, the educator can help to find appropriate resources - for example,

peers who have experienced similar problems and developed their own solutions."[25]

Heaney observes that having first based AE in people's lived struggles, the next critical link to Highlander's approach to social change was guiding that struggle towards a specific political agenda:

> First, such education must be grounded in the real and realizable struggles of people for democratic control over their lives... [s]econd, it... always challenges participants to move forward, to experience in new ways, to rethink goals and concerns... Third... *[e]ducation's contribution to social change is in direct proportion to the clarity with which a political agenda is envisioned and the commitment with which that agenda is acted upon.*[26]

However, Heaney also makes the observation that the most important lesson of Highlander is the relative role of education in social change; "[AE] is critical, but never the decisive factor in achieving social and political goals."[27] The key to successful social change arising from the Highlander project he summarizes, results from the work in conjunction with social movements:

> Essential to successful action is the presence of a dynamic political apparatus - a collective, a union, a people's organization through which collective energy can be channeled and focused. Movements are such an apparatus - a dynamic fabric of interdependent nodes of action moving toward an emerging and shared vision of what can be... Education for change is fueled by movements and by the within-reach possibilities for action which movements create.[28]

Horton never saw education as the single decisive factor, the solution, to bring about social change. "Intellectuals," emphasized Myles Horton in 1931, "need movements to make their efforts count."[29] Lovett also comments on the particular

Highlander approach to AE so closely tied to social movements. Highlander he said, is:

> [D]eliberately vague about the exact meaning placed on its governing concepts - brotherhood, democracy, mutuality, concerted community action - letting the time and the people define them more precisely. It quickly learned that ideology, no matter how firmly rooted in objective reality, was of no value if it was separated from a social movement of struggling people.[30]

And it is clear to Heaney and Horton which must precede which. Myles Horton explained the critical relationship between AE, organizations and social movements:

> It is only in a movement that an idea is often made simple enough and direct enough that it can spread rapidly... We cannot create movements, so if we want to be part of a movement when it comes, we have to get ourselves into a position - by working with organizations that deal with structural change - to be on the inside of that movement when it comes, instead of on the outside trying to get accepted.[31]

Heaney, who insists that is Highlander's relationship with social movements which provides the key to understanding the strength and limitations of its AE program states, "[n]either Highlander nor any education program alone could foment a social movement. Nor could it achieve significant change without one."[32]

In educating for social change through social movements, Highlander, throughout all its internal problems and contradictions Adams states, exemplified the philosophy that "education should foster individual growth and social change and nourish the fundamental value of complete personal liberty while encouraging thoughtful citizenship in community."[33]

The Antigonish Movement

In contrast to the revolutionary Marxist approach of the Work People's Colleges and the radicalism of the Tennessee Highlander Centre, the Antigonish movement of AE, self help and co-operative development of Nova Scotia took a more reformist approach.[34] World renowned throughout the 1930s, Antigonish was launched by Father Moses Coady and Father Jimmy Tompkins who were also greatly influenced by the Danish Folk High School movement. Believing reform "would come about through education, public participation and the establishment of alternative institutions" such as co-operatives and credit unions, Coady, worked in conjunction with the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University. He insisted AE was "an aggressive agent of change, a mass movement of reform, [and] the peaceful way to social change."[35] With little distinction between action and education, co-operatives and credit unions were supported through educational "mass meetings, study clubs, radio discussion groups, kitchen meetings, short courses, conferences, leadership schools and training courses."[36] Despite its 'anti-communist' vision of a new society, the Antigonish movement which became increasingly populist, developed an extensive educational program linked to social action for a large number of workers. Today, as a result of the University "institutionalizing" the movement into the Coady International Institute, Lovett states little more occurs than Third World people being nostalgically trained in historical Antigonish methods.

The Winter of Adult Education

Ironically, the end of the second World War which ushered in the beginning of a new optimism and so much that was good, marked the beginning of winter for these different forms of emancipatory AE. From 1945 until the early 1970s Claus Offe states a "highly encompassing liberal-democratic welfare-state consensus" prevailed in Western Europe and North America.[37] During this period:

> The energies of the political elite were directed to establishing the social security conditions to enhance the dynamism of the political-economic system... the dominant collective actors were, one might say, created by the structural transformation of the capitalist system itself. Highly specialized "interest organizations and political parties" were the dominant collective actors of the time. Trade unions watched over their workers and represented their interests in institutionalized collective bargaining processes, and political parties acted as brokers in the limited sphere of electoral politics. Civic culture de-emphasized political participation...[38]

One of the casualties of this period was "[t]he emancipatory vision (economic democracy, active citizenship) so dear to the progressive adult educator's heart was rendered 'virtually insignificant' as the values of social mobility, private life, consumerism, authority and order ruled the day."[39] Arato and Cohen argue that "the welfare-state capitalism could not provide collective identity for its citizens or generate a common political will" and that political parties discouraged grassroots political learning which severed the "political will of the citizen" from "social action or identity."[40] These were some of the conditions of the time that precipitated an early winter for emancipatory AE.

The Dilution of Adult Education in Canada

> Those who speak today of an adult education movement can, therefore, have one of two referents. For some it is mere purple rose describing a field of professional practice. Others are making an historical statement, though sometimes for contemporary reasons, referring to periods when adult education had stronger (albeit ill-defined and varying) associations with movements for democracy and social progress.[41]

As we have observed from the previous section, and as Maria Slowey has observed, "[i]n many [Western] countries [emancipaotory AE]... recurrent education, continuing education, or community education... has its origins in social movements of different kinds - in particular the labour movement, religious movements and agricultural movements."[42] The argument holds true for Canada as Pannu, along with others, describes the movement origins of AE in Canada:

> The earlier radical mobilization phase [of AE] was clearly rooted in social movements which principally developed in two of Canada's economically peripheralized regions, the Maritimes and the Prairies. These movements were largely the responses of independent petty commodity producers to their subjection to a particular mode of economic exploitation of capitalist underdevelopment...[43]

Over the years however, the original objectives and clientele of many voluntary AE groups in most OECD countries changed considerably. For example, in 1982 it was estimated that only about 12 per cent of the students in the British WEA program could be defined as working class.[44] Slowey suggests this is largely due to the state becomingly "increasingly involved in the provision of educational activities for adults."[45] Slowey's case holds true for Canada where

Pannu identifies the mid-1940s as the critical transition or 'dilution' period of AE in Canada:

> Prior to the Second World War, adult education in Canada had the character of a more or less radical social movement. Its primary goal in the 1930s was to mobilize the poor and the unemployed - the victims of the Great Depression - in collective self-defense and for radical transformation of the Canadian society. However, with the emergence of the welfare state in the mid-1940s [AE] was gradually incorporated into state social policies, particularly those related to education and job training. This has lead to far-reaching changes in the general scope and character of what today passes for [AE]. Its radical commitment to seek social transformation in order to attain a just and emancipatory democratic social order through popular AE has disappeared.[46]

Slowey observes the same pattern of AE in Britain and Europe and identifies, possibly to its greatest detriment, what has become its new inspiration:

> The principle of linking the education of adults with ideas of social change, which had informed many adult education movements, has become diluted. The emphasis on critical analysis and reflection tends to be replaced by an emphasis on the provision of 'popular' activities mainly relating to the leisure area. By and large, the provision of adult education has come to follow a market-oriented approach...[47]

It seems clear that the growth of the state's role and demands of the market have in many countries diluted the "original purposes" of AE. Furthermore, Slowey also observes that with increased state involvement and market demands has come to an increasing professionalization and, subsequently, dilution of AE. Michael Welton concurs. Speaking from inside the Canadian AE environment, he states:

> Canadian [AE], with notable exceptions, is professionalized, becalmed, and technicized. Many of us are captive to ideologies of the individual learner. We lack a coherent understanding of the social purpose of [AE]. We are fragmented along institutional lines.

> We see ourselves as professionals marketing programs and not as activists mobilizing people through dialogue. Consequently, we are in a weak position to understand what role [AE] can, and must, play in the resolution of our "structural binds".[48]

At a more theoretical level, emancipatory AE was further constrained by the current of conservative social development theories between the 1930s and 1960s. Instead, structural functionalism, all the rage between the 1930s and 1950s, superseded evolutionary and other social development theories and quarantined AE in at least two ways. First, it typically limited and thus legitimated the definition of education to formal schooling. Secondly, it greatly reduced the emancipatory potential of any type of education through its insistence to retain social 'harmony' and preserve the compositional parts of society rather than changing them. This was very clearly observed in formal schooling. "In educational terms" states Ghosh, "the function of schooling [under structural functionalism] was to maintain the class structure in society by preserving the opportunities and educational levels of privileged classes."[49]

Adult Education as a Project of Modernization

Later in the 1950s, the assorted theories and national experiments in modernization were merged to promote the ideal of the modern, free enterprise state around the world. Adult and formal education were put to work to inculcate modern attitudes, values and progress. Besides contradicting globally diverse cultural patterns and traditional forms of knowledge, these ethnocentric modernization concepts accelerated the transformation of the physical environment into capital resources for exploitation. In this era of modernization

and production even the productive potential of human beings was not to be overlooked and "investing in people", as compared to their education, took on global proportions within human capital theory.

Human capital theorists in the 1960s promoted education, adult and otherwise, far and wide as a productive investment - over and above, sometimes regardless of, the simple need for personal development or collective democratic change. Although human capital theory was already enjoying considerable fanfare among neo-classical economists, conservative as well as liberal politicians and educators in the 1950s, Theodore W. Schultz brought it to the forefront with his 1960 presidential address at the Seventy Third Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. In the year of his speech, 17 African States achieved virtually simultaneous independence, became member States of UNESCO and set the course of their national education programs for the next decade. The Final Report of the United Nations Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa in Addis Ababa cryptically reflected Schultz's speech which ushered in the 'human investment revolution in economic thought'. The Report stated:

> The development of human resources is as urgent and essential as the development of material resources... Educational investment is of a long-term nature but, if properly planned, obtains... a high rate of return... [Such planning must be guided by the realization that] the content of education should be related to economic needs...[50]

Around the world, states listened to the marketplace and fell in step with the market. Ghosh comments on the final goal of human capital theory, "[a]n

educated labour force was seen as the most efficient way to bring about a desired form of social change - a prosperous society."[51]

A Renaissance or Final Breaths of Emancipatory Adult Education?

Slowey makes the observation that in the same decade education virtually abdicated to modernization and human capital theories with all its numerous nation-state incarnations, a renaissance of emancipatory AE began. Once again, the activity of social movements was directly linked to the development of AE committed to social change. In the early 1970s Slowey states, "the explicit links between [AE] and social movements were established once again by two different, but complementary, developments."[52] First, the "original purposes" of AE were resurrected through the work of adult educators from the South (i.e. the industrially developing world) - predominantly those from Latin America but also from India and Sri Lanka. Evolving at the start from the adult literacy movement, Paulo Freire introduced the concept of 'conscientisation' which referred to the process by which "[AE]... could not only be used as a way of raising awareness amongst disadvantaged sections of the population of their social situation, but could actually form part of a strategy for social change."[53]

The second development to resuscitate emancipatory AE emerged from the non-formal activities and techniques which formed an important role in the development of the women's movement. Employing the term 'consciousness-raising', women collectively analyzed how direct and indirect forms of

discrimination and domination transpired at a personal and societal level through a process of sharing personal experiences.[54] In the context of a society where the inherent conservative nature of the education system and mindset not only prevented criticism and change but has also allowed male values to permeate its whole ethos, the feminist movement faced numerous challenges. Not only did it have to struggle in developing vital community-based AE opportunities that developed personal self-confidence and assist community women in re-analyzing their social situation, it struggled in gaining even minimal access to education and training in the mainstream system.

Besides both models arising out of particular social movements, they both share the perspective that the educational process is itself a political activity encouraging people to analyze "the social situation in which people find themselves, *with the objective of arriving at the position where people will take active responsibility for transforming that situation*".[55] Within this purpose of AE, there is little distinction between personal and social-political development - or as it has been emphasized in the vernacular of the women's movement, 'the personal *is* political'. Numerous other social movements started to rise up around the world in the 1960s and faultlines of modernity were becoming more apparent. Modern politics and economics, along with its accompanying dominant ideologies and culture, were increasingly critiqued and called into question from many sides.[56]

Groundswell of Emancipatory AE

The heart of authentic radicalism is the expansion of democracy.[57]

Numerous movements that began or gained momentum in the 60s provided the origins for several traditions of emancipatory AE. Stewart Burns observed this trend of movements in the United States that gave way to new forms of emancipatory AE:

> During the era called the 1960s several million Americans engaged in making history. They acted beyond the usual bounds of citizenship to change social practices. Many aspired to create a new society. In the process they transformed their own lives. If they did not realize their dreams, they did shape the future - most concretely by abolishing legal segregation, ending the Vietnam War, dislodging racial and sexual discrimination, and altering traditional gender roles... This legacy of public activism has inspired many others to make history in less favourable times since.[58]

The many shades of the feminist movement, gay and lesbian movements, civil rights movement and even self-help groups movements each encouraged respective strains of emancipatory AE. Whether through member mobilization, consciousness raising groups, universities, direct mail, advertising, academic journals, seminars and conferences, teachers, volunteers or lobbying, emancipatory critical pedagogies were being sophisticated, systematized, and disseminated.

Stimulating the growth and confluence of the development education, global education, international education and environmental education was the peace movement, international development movement, ecological movement and global cooperation movement. "Development education" states Greig et al,

"grew out of the mounting concern of charitable organizations, the churches and the United Nations over 'Third World' poverty. This led, particularly in the 1960s and early 1970s, to courses and course units which focused exclusively upon the plight of chosen 'Third World' countries."[59] Improved communications, media, transportation and technology informed the North that a large part of the world in the South was still 'shamefully poor and backward'. Churches, NGOs, the public and governments began to respond. A proud moment but now forgotten goal was the agreement of Lester B. Pearson and other leaders of OECD countries in 1969 to commit a modest .7 per cent of the their GNP's to overseas development assistance (ODA).

As the public continues to be incessantly provided with the proof of its increasingly questionable security and disparity, related movements and their respective AE branches mobilized to provide viable alternatives. Gault states:

> Attention to the study of global affairs has accelerated in the recent past due to recognizable and irrefutable evidence pointing toward the world as a single system and realization that the fate of the earth and its inhabitants is intertwined in a massive cultural, political, economic, geographic and technological web. Global problems have reached alarming proportions and survival of planetary life as we know it is thought to be directly to the ability and willingness of humankind to solve universal problems. Basic to the latter is an acceptance of the concept of interdependence. Nurturing a citizenry who will be comfortable with the concept is one of the major tasks confronting global educators.[60]

By 1982 the urgent need for global/development AE was even coming from prolific government leaders as recorded in Marcel Masse's speech to the Association québecoise des organismes du cooperation internationale (AQOCI):

> The message we have to get across to the public is that this is now no longer a question of religious values or charity - it is a matter of survival for the East, the South, the North and the West... The solutions must be global solutions. It is essential to show (the people of the West) how the notion of interdependence must not only affect their lives in the future but is affecting them now, and then how the fact of interdependence must bring them to make changes in their way of living that will change policies and that will change the rules of the game between North and South... that stimulating public awareness has become a national necessity.[61]

Mobilizing in the South, revolutionary governments, Liberation Theology, Oscar Romero, Ghandian movements, grass-roots development movements, human rights movements and solidarity movements among many more, provided the culture, impetus and critical mass for highly developed and rich traditions of popular, emancipatory AE. Out of the Liberation Theology movement for example came an extensive system of 'Christian base communities' which specialized in weekly popular education meetings on consciousness raising from a biblical perspective.

The anti-war movement, nuclear disarmament movement, anti-Vietnam War movement, and peace movement in many ways provided important awareness, understanding and roots for peace education. With the increased mobilization and development of the peace movement came a concomitant maturation and extension of peace education. David Hicks explains the distinctive shift in peace education:

> By the late 1960s and early 1970s researchers' attention was shifting from direct [personal] violence to indirect (structural) violence, that is the ways in which people may also suffer as a result of social, political, and economic systems... This broadening of concern amongst peace researchers to examine issues of freedom and justice also led to broader definitions of peace [i.e.

negative peace, direct violence, indirect violence and positive peace].[62]

Peace education is an excellent example of emancipatory education, adult or otherwise, for three reasons. First, a main approach of peace education emphasizes an 'abolition of power relationships' which is a concept central to the emancipatory theme. "This approach" states Hicks, "sees people's values as themselves a product of certain structural variables, for example to do with economic, political, and cultural power. The emphasis is therefore on raising awareness of structural violence and identification with the struggles of all oppressed groups."[63]

Secondly, the stated problems and values of peace education resonate at a core level with the problems and values common to most forms of emancipatory AE. Johan Galtung suggests that 'the problems of peace are broadly fivefold' i.e. violence and war, inequality, injustice, environmental damage and alienation. The five values of peace, non-violence, economic welfare, social justice, ecological balance, and participation, counteract the five problems of peace and "underpin any definition of peace" Galtung emphasizes.[64]

Finally, because many of the problems and values of each form of emancipatory AE are shared, there is a corresponding commonality in their approaches. Thus, because dialogue is a demonstrated value in many forms of emancipatory AE, an approach of mediation and resolution may be a common approach to injustices experienced in human rights, local economic development or international relations.

Adult Education Theory and NSMs

While the practice and history of transformative movements and adult educators promoting each other's efforts has often been observed, it is not very well understood. Especially in Europe but also in Latin America and North America, there was increasing activity in the combined study of social movement and AE theory throughout the 70s and 80s. Finger has stated that in Europe and particularly in Germany, being the country where NSMs have had the "biggest cultural impact", there is a growing body of literature on new movements and AE. In that literature, he observes five important points:

> 1. Whether by means of "future workshops"... "social learning environments," or "learning communities," the new movements are both the catalyst of a person's transformation and the main environment in which this transformation takes place.
> 2. New movements define the future topics of adult transformation.
> 3. The new movements do not simply deliver information and knowledge. by linking the topics of adult education with the individual's life concerns, they help the adult to deal with the crisis of modernity and to elaborate new relations with some aspects of it. Thus, "within these new movements learning processes happen, which are probably more efficient and long-lasting than going to school for years".
> 4. What also is typically new about these new movements is the fact that social transformation is entirely linked with personal transformation. Personal transformation can only happen when a perspective of social change is involved and vice versa.
> 5. Moreover, adults transform themselves within the new movements only in situations where the modernity in crisis gives rise to emotional reactions; the energy to which a person appeals in order to go through a process of transformation stems, therefore, from a deeper, mainly moral and even religious level. This is another difference with traditional education and critical thinking, which remain at the "superficial" level of the rational mind.[65]

In Europe, where theorists such as Habermas, Gramsci and Offe provided the inspiration and meta-theories for a linked analysis of social movements and education, certain adult educationalists throughout the 80s appeared to be exploring some pragmatic research models. Some of this work investigated the possibilities of social movement theory enriching the study and practice of AE.

Recasting Emancipatory AE Theory

From the previous discussion it has been demonstrated that an historical, practical and symbiotic relationship existed and exists anew between some social movement organizations (SMOs) and some emancipatory AE practices. It is true that emancipatory AE practiced by an individual or small group has developed into a social movement in themselves as in the case of the education movement begun by John Dewey in the 1920s.[86] But in most cases, emancipatory AE as a methodology, practice or strategy has, to meet its objectives, been carried by some organized emancipatory agency in society. From time to time some "revolutionary" nation-states have integrated emancipatory AE methodologies into their policies such as the case of the 1980s literacy program in Sandanista Nicaragua or the Folk School program in Denmark. However, most sustained efforts to transform society through emancipatory AE has been and will continue to be transmitted through community-based SMOs.

Emancipatory adult educators, or 'movement intellectuals' as Eyerman and Jamison call them, usually start, transfer or originate from, an emancipatory

SMO. Some are organic intellectuals while others are formally trained and may already be a part of society's intelligentsia as was the case with the early British labour movements. Some emancipatory adult educators have received training from a NGO or nongovernmental institution (NGI) as was the case with black civil rights movement leaders in the United States. Emancipatory adult educators have worked 'for hire' as was the situation with the infamous Saul Alinsky in the United States or the case with Highlander whose facilitators were contracted to mobilize labour unions in the southern United States. In any case, as Horton and Heaney insist, emancipatory adult educators need to be linked to an agency in society, typically a SMO, which is genuinely committed to social transformation.

As fleeting as social movements and their SMOs have been in history, they are among the most powerful and influential forces to transform societies and history. To achieve its purposes, emancipatory AE, as a primary strategy of emancipatory SMOs, has directly depended on social movements and its organizations more than any other agency.[67] Furthermore, emancipatory SMOs in advanced capitalist societies often use and appear to require emancipatory AE to meet their purposes. Put simply, emancipatory SMOs are the best sites to study emancipatory AE. So why have we not closely studied emancipatory AE in SMOs? Is it too hard to find, too hard to research or have we been looking in other places?

To better understand emancipatory AE, AE theorists need to increase their study of adult educational processes that occur in emancipatory SMOs.

Using some analytical categories of recent social movement theory may allow us to better understand and ultimately promote emancipatory AE. It is the purpose of the remaining discussion to determine if and how emancipatory AE theory and practice can be enhanced using a social movement theory framework.

The task will require identifying relevant analytical categories of social movement theory. The task however is not to create a coherent theory as much as a theoretical framework. At the very least the discussion will present key questions to help analyze emancipatory AE. Eventually we want to know how emancipatory AE might create effective resistance to the globalizing and totalizing dominant culture. We will want to describe how civil society might take advantage of new insights to make emancipatory SMOs more effective. [68]

As has been stated, while emancipatory AE and many emancipatory SMOs have historically shared a commonality of purpose and commitment, they have profited very little from sharing at a theoretical level. Just as the study of collective action and social movement oddly remained mutually exclusive from social change theory until the late 1960s, AE theory and social movement theory appear to have remained mutually exclusive until the late 1980s. As John Holford has said, "[a]lthough many adult educators have worked closely with social movements, only rarely has this been reflected at the level of theory."[69]

New Hope for Adult Education Theorizing in NSMs

Attempts to develop an analytical framework from social movement theory to study AE have been few. One significant study by Matthias Finger (1989) of

Switzerland states new social movements are the key to a recasting of AE theory. Central to Finger's analysis are two assumptions: First, the 'crisis of modernity' has become so intolerable for most people that they are looking at new ways to overcome and transform modern society. Second, "(s)ocial movements must be considered as one of the best expressions of underlying social and cultural transformations."[70]

Finger characterizes present cultural transformation in industrial societies as "the replacement of collective goals by emerging strategies of individual survival."[71] He states we can presently observe great cultural transformation, and a new role for AE, by the transition from old social and political movements to new ones:

> In the old movements the status, role, and function of the individual is defined in relation to the development of modern society; however, in the new movements it is the person who defines his of her relation to modern society. In fact, the new movements not only illustrate and help us to understand this ongoing, profound cultural transformation, they also herald a new conception of [AE].[72]

With modernity their main project, old movements shared in the modern ideal that political emancipation came through education. Oelkers has gone so far as to say that modernity is in and of itself an educational project.[73] "To enlighten the actor through education" was seen as the best means to mobilize mass movements to apply political pressure on the state and ultimately achieve political emancipation. "Whether in popular education, in literacy programs, in community development, or in vocational training," criticizes Finger, "the primary purpose of [AE] remains to enlighten the individual through knowledge,

competence, and conscience, so that he or she can fully participate in developing and sustaining a modern society."[74] In this traditional perspective, education is the:

> [P]rivileged tool of modernization and individuals are its vehicles. The main educational contents are popularized scientific and technological knowledge. This perspective, which the old movements share with the educational establishment, puts the goals of development and modernity before the individual. This is justified by the idea that the promotion of modernity will further the political emancipation of the person. It is this traditional perspective which has been institutionalized and still determines most of the discourse on [AE].[75]

Finger further reasons that if modernity has failed, then so too has education. Both have been unsuccessful in bringing about the 'emancipated individual', capable of developing and sustaining modern societies and emphasizes that "traditional education today is neither the bearer of a future project nor the way out of the present crisis."[76] If the educational project of modernity continues Finger warns, it will conclude in completely dismantling AE into two innocuous paths: technical/vocational training on the one hand, and personal development, or "therapy" as Escobar and Alvarez call it, on the other. Technical or vocational training "tries to give an answer to the individual's strategy of material survival", while personal development is an answer to the individual's strategy of "psychic sur. .val."[77]

Given the manifest failure and complicity of education in the crisis of modernity, Finger warns that the new movements' conception of adult transformation may be the only way out of the present dilemma for AE. In the

shadow of modernity however the post-modern "way out" casts the individual in a transformative role quite unlike before:

> For the new movements the most effective way to overcome the crisis of modernity is to act at the local level and the transnational level. Transformation, in order to be effective, has to rely on and to stem from the person, whereas structures and institutions can at most be supportive. This means that the transformations are of an educational nature but not of a political nature; the relevant social and political transformation come "from within" and happen at the level of the person.[78]

As people in new movements fight for a 'new, personal relationship with modernization, in particular with its core components of rationality, science, technology, and (State) politics', education takes on a different role. Finger states:

> In contrast, new movements are not political, but truly educational. They take as their starting point the idea that politics, like modernity, has failed and that effective social change can only stem from fundamental personal transformation. As a result, new movements attribute a new and more profound meaning to education, in particular [AE]. They first redefine the aim of education, which is no longer to achieve societal goals, but to induce a process of personal transformation, which, they think, will inevitably have an impact on social, political and cultural life.[79]

New movements according to Finger redefine AE as the conduit and measure for this process of transformation. "The transformation in the individual's way of living as well as in his or her thinking is the only and the ultimate criterion against which the success of AE will be judged" declares Finger.[80] "In my opinion" he concludes, "this creates an epistemologically new conception of [AE] or rather of adult transformation."[81]

Finger identifies three concepts that are emerging from the new movements which he considers essential to the future and success of AE and adult transformation. The first is the German approach to experiential learning.[82] Different from the Anglo-American approach learning from experience means 'learning from reflection on experience' or learning in the everyday life-world.[83] Second, 'learning through consternation' comes directly from "adults' transformative practice within the new movements and specifies the significant learning experiences as those which make a person emotionally consternated."[84] Finally, the German approach to holistic learning which is very similar to experiential learning and; 'identity learning' which is an "extension of the last two concepts and states that the elaboration of a personal identity, the ultimate goal of adult transformation, cannot be separated from a person's experienced life, nor from his or her social commitment."[85] Finger summarizes by stating that:

> However, these new concepts, and their corresponding adult transformative practices, will only develop their full potential once they have been integrated into a more general theoretical framework. Therefore, future research in [AE] should first be orientated towards empirical studies about the way adult transformation actually happens, preferably with the new movements. Only on the basis of such empirical knowledge can one eventually come up with a theory of adult transformation in the context of the modernity in crisis.[86]

So through their emphasis and 'pedagogical conception' of helping adults 'learn their way out' of the crisis of modernity, new movements promote adult learning that helps 'reestablish the link between the person and society'.

NSMs as Learning Sites

As criticized as Finger's article has been it provides a rare and pioneer analysis of emancipatory adult education using (NSM) social movement theory as a framework for research. Critics such as Welton, Green and Offe take exception however to several key aspects of Finger's article including his excessive polarization of old and new movements. In his article *"Social Revolutionary Learning: The New Social Movements as Learning Sites,"* Welton (1993) agrees with Finger that 'the new social movements are particularly privileged sites for the organization of enlightenment and emancipatory praxis', but insists his analysis differs from Finger's in three different significant aspects. First, Welton states that Finger has misinterpreted the values and collective struggles of the NSMs:

> NSM actors have not abandoned the modernist quest for autonomy. Rather, they insist that personal autonomy and individuation can only be achieved through collective action to truly democratize our public life. Finger, in my view, misconceptualizes the relationship of the NSM to institutional politics. He separates the "educational" dimension form the "political," and argues that the NSM are interested only in the transformation of the person.[87]

"NSM actors" Welton corrects, "selectively radicalize rather than reject modern values."[88] Secondly, Welton argues that NSMs "must be understood as collective actors, and that one cannot separate personal fulfillment from collective action."[89] Finally, Welton does not consider NSMs as signifying the end of politics and the beginning of a new era of the person, rather they are

revitalizing political life in late capitalist societies by calling for the creation of new political institutions and learning processes.[90]

Unfortunately, like most critical pedagogists, Welton is much less specific about how to study emancipatory AE in general, and in conjunction with social movements in particular. In vague terms, he rightly envisions NSMs as social revolutionary learning sites, as 'educators of the public' which create 'festivals of learning in the face of despair and anxiety':

> Many of the actions combine music, dance, speeches, displays, art, playfulness and imaginative modes of defiance: a weaving together of diverse learning moments toward the creation of a new sensibility. The "experiential" and "holistic" nature of this learning... however, only takes on its full meaning in the context of history making, collective action to change power relations among people and with nature.[91]

As recently as 1995 it was still being said that while "[AE] has long been associated with social movements, the relevance of social movement theory has hardly been explored".[92] There are probably many reasons why the concept of social movement has had such limited impact on AE theory. Holford suggests two: first, he states that "social movement theory has until recently evolved outside the sociology of knowledge and that this has limited its interface with AE discourse" and second; "AE's own decline as a movement has deflected attention away from the theoretical significance of social movements in AE."[93]

Cognitive Praxis Theory : Knowledge as a Social Product

Of the two most prevalent recent social movement paradigms, Holford states resource mobilization theory (RMT) seems to "offer little to the theory of

AE."[94] Resource mobilization theory's holds no promise from Holford's perspective because 'it stems from its fundamental assumptions about the rationality of social movements' or as Cohen suggested in more general terms, that it has "thrown out the baby with the bathwater by excluding the analysis of values, norms, ideologies, projects, culture and identity in other than instrumental terms."[95] To Holford, RMT is guilty of reducing AE to simply providing the personnel for social movements - adult educators are to develop the human resources to fill the ranks of social movements. Given RMT's rationalistic assumptions, he states it 'leaves to AE the role of servant, rather than - even partial - creator, of movement'. He concludes:

> Yet as with all [human resource development], the aims and objectives of the learning will be determined by the movement-organization rather than in the adult education process themselves. And it offers little to theory: Moral difference between developing human resources for an environmental movement and for a multi-national company there may well be, but the functional similarity is apparent. There are, of course, important contributions to be made about the processes, for instance, of program development in social movements,... But these would hardly constitute grounds for a recasting of [AE] theory.[96]

Along with others, Holford insists the greatest promise for reconceptualizing AE theory lies with NSM theory. For Finger, it is the 'emerging strategies for individual survival' of NSMs in the crisis of the modern world which replaced collective social movement goals that drew his attention. For Welton, it is the potential value of NSMs providing revolutionary learning sites for emancipatory AE theorists. For a few AE theorists it is the promise that NSMs are to be seen in terms of 'forms of cultural production'.

The two general analytical categories of Eduardo Canel's 'combined theory' of social movements may provide AE theorists with the broadest research framework. According to Canel, AE theory needs to understand the macroprocesses and microprocesses of the context of AE in social movements. In his development of a more balanced and complete theory for studying social movements he combines the experience of the RMT and the NSM theory traditions, Canel explains the six types of factors operating at two distinct levels of analysis, specifically the macroprocesses and microprocesses. John Holford addresses the level of macroprocesses of AE when he puts forth Eyerman and Jamison's cognitive praxis social movement theory.

Holford states it is the NSM theorists Eyerman and Jamison (1991) in *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*, who provide the most promising grounds for a recasting of AE theory. Social movements, write Eyerman and Jamison from Sweden, should not be "merely seen as a challenge to established power", be that on an individual or collective basis, "but also and more so as a socially constructive force, as a fundamental determinant of human knowledge."[87] "Building both on critical theory and on the sociology of knowledge," they state:

> [W]e have uncovered something rather important about the ways in which societies are constructed; we have made social movements visible in the social process of knowledge production. The forms of consciousness that are articulated in social movements provide something crucial in the constitution of modern societies: public spaces for thinking new thoughts, activating new actors, generating new ideas, in short, constructing new intellectual "projects." The cognitive praxis of social movements is an important, and all too neglected, source of social innovation.[88]

"Our argument" they state, is that:

> [S]ocial movements articulate new historical projects by reflecting on their own cognitive identity. In formulating their common assumptions, developing their programmatic presentations of themselves to the rest of society, in short, by saying what they stand for, social movement activists develop new ideas that are fundamental to broader processes of human creativity.[99]

Holford observes that the authors develop a conceptualization of social movements as "cognitive praxis", from which "science and ideology - as well as everyday knowledge - develop new perspectives... It is precisely in the creation, articulation, formulation of new thoughts and ideas - new knowledge - that a social movement defines itself in society."[100] Holford explains:

> The very process by which a movement is formed, by which it establishes an identity for itself, is a cognitive one... Movements then evolve through further cognitive processes. In these processes of creation and development, movements generate identities for themselves, largely because they generate new knowledge. Such processes constitute 'cognitive praxis'.[101]

Holford emphasizes that Eyerman and Jamison's approach "clearly holds possibilities for the study of AE: "by enabling us to move from the appreciation that social movements are important phenomena in the learning process of the individuals (and even collectively of the groups and organizations) which compose them," he states, we are able to move to a perspective "that they are central to the production of human knowledge itself."[102] Fundamental to this radical perspective is identifying what constitutes as the production of knowledge. This position assumes that social movements are to some degree responsible for the existing knowledge in any society. Eyerman and Jamison's

state that knowledge in society is, in part, "the product of a series of social encounters, within movements, between movements, and even more importantly perhaps, between movements and their established opponents."[103]

A major and endemic problem in the sociology of adult education states Holford, has been "moving from the notion of knowledge as given, to a meaningful concept of knowledge as social product". Holford states that:

> [W]hile the importance of "society" or "culture" in shaping adult learning and the idea that knowledge may change is recognized, this tends to be treated in a highly functionalist way: it is a product, for instance, of the division of labor. What rarely emerges at the level of theory is a sense that images of society compete, that people themselves may contribute to the shaping of social knowledge in important ways, or, most important, any problematization of the relationship of knowledge to power.[104]

On this point Holford takes critical pedagogy acadmeics like McLaren and Giroux to task. Although pedagogical theorists argue, borrowing from Foucault, that social groups generate culture defined as a 'field of struggle in which the production, legitimization, and circulation of particular forms of knowledge and experience are central areas of conflict', they do not clearly identify any unique knowledge-generating role to social movements nor do they put forth a theory - "or even a critical pedagogy" - of social movements.[105] Holford is critical of both their general and specific approach:

> Advocates of critical pedagogy [do not resolve] problems through depth of analysis or sustained empirical research. Their approach is suggestive rather than substantive. This is, unfortunately, especially true of social movements. Although key to the political project of critical pedagogy, social movements tend to be taken for granted as allies, rather than analyzed or theorized. Vital issues are considered, but rarely related to social movements - even when (as with identity, culture, and ethnicity) their contribution

> could be substantial. There remains, too, a reluctance to acknowledge that reactionary forces - racism, for example - may be a social movement...[106]

By highlighting the role of social movements in generating knowledge, Holford assumes that not only can the processes by which knowledge was generated be analyzed, but a theory of cognitive praxis can overcome some deficiencies of the academic critical pedagogy project.

Regardless of how accurate Holford's criticism is of critical pedagogy academics, he unfortunately generalizes, and thus limits, all critical pedagogy advocates to be a very small portion of the critical pedagogy 'intelligentsia'. There are many more leaders and intellectuals, in both the North and South, from the grassroots and 'higher instituitions', who are rank and file critical pedagogists regularily drawing knowledge, experience and skills from and within social movements. These critical pedagogist practioners, published and unpublished, have a great 'depth of analysis' and are well acquainted with the long hard grind of understanding and waging social struggles through all kinds of SMOs.

Organizational Knowledge: Roots in Habermas

Eyerman and Jamison rely heavily on the work of Habermas (1972) in making a distinction between three dimensions of cognitive praxis, each representing a "contextualization" of "knowledge constituting interests."[107] Corresponding to Habermas' concept of emancipatory knowledge, the cosmological dimension represents the 'common worldview assumptions that

give a social movement its utopian mission'. Secondly, based on Habermas' technical-practical knowledge interest, Eyerman and Jamison identify the technological dimension as "the specific technological issues that particular movements develop around."[108]

It is the final dimension, the organization, however which is most valuable from an AE theoretical perspective. Developed principally from Habermas' concept of communicative culture, the authors state that all movements have "a particular organizational paradigm, which means they have both ideals and modes of organizing the production and... dissemination of knowledge."[109] The organizational paradigm can usually be seen in the dominant forms of a movement's social interaction such as how "organizational images derived from factory and military structures underlay early twentieth-century socialism" or in how the principles of collaboration, sharing and absence of hierarchy have played a central role in the women's movement.[110] The organizational dimension does not refer to movement structure or infrastructure. Rather, what these messages contain and how modes of communication are patterned and managed, which is the production and dissemination of (movement-originating) knowledge, both within the movement and with society, is in many ways what composes a movement's identity and thus its organizational dimension.

Movement Intellectuals: Roots in Gramsci

To understand the next central component of cognitive theory requires shifting from Habermas to Gramsci. Eyerman and Jamison state that the

principal actors within the organizational dimension are 'movement intellectuals'. Of interest to the authors is Gramsci's notion that 'organic intellectuals' are not just key figures in the formation of social groups, over and above the intelligentsia, but more importantly, in *emerging* social classes. Under the NSM rubric 'shaping and articulating' class identity does not mean giving labour their historical Marxist role beyond the other classes, rather it means assisting women, gays, lesbians, visible minorities to find their distinct identity and civil rights. To Gramsci the reflexive nature of the organic intellectual's role with the classes, as well as their importance, is clear: "A human mass does not 'distinguish' itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organizing itself; and there is no organization without intellectuals".[111]

Recast as the movement intellectual, they are described by Eyerman and Jamison as "those individuals who through their activities articulate the knowledge interests and cognitive identity of social movements."[112] While it may be the case that more "established" intellectuals such as academics and professionals are more prolific in the early stages of a movement's evolution, the needs of the movement "call forth new kinds of intellectuals, often without any formal legitimacy in the established intellectual contexts."[113] Not only do these movement intellectuals assist in mobilizing others, they also assist the movement to establish its own internal and external identity by their "crucial role in defining the 'Other' a social force against which the movement pits itself and

in relation to which it defines its philosophy and aims - and in representing the movement in dealing with this Other."[114]

Because of their highly ambivalent mediation role in society, interpreting and negotiating forces both within and outside a social movement, Holford finds that the role of the movement intellectual draws parallels with Giroux's rather vague notion of "transformative intellectuals who occupy specific political and social locations."[115] At least in some of the more recent critical pedagogy work, educators and cultural workers are given the title "transformative intellectuals" although specific details of their post is still forthcoming. By using Eyerman and Jamison's cognitive praxis approach, Holford suggests such critical pedagogy concepts as "cultural workers," "border pedagogies" and "transformative intellectuals" can be taken from the level of metatheory and operationalized for research by focusing on social movements and movement intellectuals as generating knowledge. Some of the limitations of the research are also apparent to Holford:

> This is not to say that every activity of a movement intellectual is an educational one. But clearly education is a central feature of the organizational paradigm, and of how movement intellectuals conduct themselves....The need is for concrete research on the role which such movement intellectuals play, and on the nature of the communicative milieu within which they act, and which they play so major a role in shaping.[116]

Cognitive Praxis and Adult Education Theory

For AE in general the implications of the cognitive praxis approach to understanding social movements are numerous states Holford. Beyond Welton's

view that social movements are profound sites of revolutionary learning, counting social movements as important sources of knowledge for Holford means that "any study of adult education must address the role of social movements in the formation of knowledge."[117] Comparative AE could be strengthened Holford states, by abandoning the typical research of 'institutional structures of [AE] systems', replaced by studying the characteristic forms of knowledge in societies. This implies that by studying the social movements which have given shape to a particular society, AE theorists can better understand that society's characteristic form of knowledge.[118]

Thus, the cognitive praxis approach to understanding social movements according to Holford, has implications for the study of AE in two specific areas; organizational knowledge and movement intellectuals. In terms of the former, more than being concerned about what knowledge already exists and how it develops, "adult educationalists" want to know how these characteristics within social movements relate to adult learning and teaching. Holford insists that the modes of movement communication, how they develop and pass around their own information as well as what and how they form their message to the outside world, are "central to the study of learning and education" and "a key site of interaction between learning, knowledge, and a society."[119] Given that social movements are committed to change, their organizational knowledge will often involve structured and formal education activities which demand study. Along with others who state that radical and feminist pedagogies can at times be

'regimes of truth' where social interaction is far from being 'open, free-flowing, and democratic', Holford cautions that a considerable portion of the organizational knowledge must be filtered. Given the commonly high degree of social commitment among its participants, exchanged information and knowledge is rarely neutral when trying to meet movement purposes. As social movements are deeply ideological, education, propaganda and public relations are powerful tools in most social movements. The bottom line is that it is important to study movements critically.

Regarding movement intellectuals, the second area of study, Holford's position is clear:

> [They are] key in an adult educational analysis of social movements, for it allows us to focus on the role of [AE] as an agent of social change. Adult educators who see their role as working with (or even initiating) a movement are seeking to play a part in formulating and structuring its organizational knowledge.[120]

Viewing the adult educator in social movements as movement intellectuals draws out three important issues. First, for purposes of analysis, educators are no longer seen as equal participants in movements but are imputed a potentially more significant role as a key leader, visionary and social change agent. This is not to say that any intellectual who joins a movement is a movement intellectual nor are many movement intellectuals, as is the case with organic intellectuals, coming from the intelligentsia. O'Sullivan argues that where there is a commitment to use education to change society, "the qualities of single-mindedness, leadership, resourcefulness, and perseverance" will need to

forthcoming from movement "initiators" or intellectuals.[121] What they do, say and teach has considerable influence and their role needs to be studied.

Secondly, besides studying the role of individual movement intellectuals, there needs to be additional study of the collective work of adult educator's in social movements and between social movements. Holford applies Gramsci's work on organic intellectuals where their close links to the "party" can be adapted to the close relationships that exist "between movement intellectual groups and the movements which they structure and lead."[122] Holford further assumes that "very often... the individual educator functions not only on the margins of social movement and the wider world, but [she also functions] within an education organizational milieu which generates and sustains its own specific 'regime of truth'."[123] Movement intellectual networks and their specific communicative cultures, where knowledge and reasoning are legitimated, are to be studied.

Finally, because movement intellectuals are such protagonists in intellectual and ideological debate, not to mention in compulsory propaganda and public relations work, they not only generate considerable movement organizational knowledge, they are also 'highly conscious of the political significance of knowledge'. Therefore, in trying to study key actors in producing movement knowledge, it will probably be the case that some of the findings will be quite ambiguous and difficult to decipher. Needless to say, as is the case with studying the highly subjective content of movement organizational

knowledge, researching movement intellectuals will require a very critical perspective. Before continuing with an examination of Eyerman and Jamison's presentation of movement intellectuals, it is crucial to emphasize the critical role of intellectuals in social movements from Boggs' insightful perspective.

Analyzing the Intellectual's Role

> The new type of intellectual, whether technocratic, critical, or organic, can be located in a variety of spheres - the mass media, education, interest groups such as trade unions, the university, popular movements, artistic communities, even the state. Quite clearly their universe looks vastly different from what it was in traditional and earlier industrial societies even if for no other reason than the rapid expansion of their occupational roles and strategic potential.[124]

In his timely and brilliant work, *The Crisis of Intellectuals*, Carl Boggs reviews the radical evolution of the intellectual's role from pre-industrialism to the present advanced capitalist states which includes unprecedented opportunities and challenges for 'movement intellectuals', to use Eyerman and Jamison's terms. Boggs states that in the midst of modernity, Gramsci's theory of 'organic' intellectuals was probably the most sophisticated in claiming that while intellectual functions were indispensable to revolutionary change, they were to be an expression of class forces and the political struggles that grew out of them. Like everything else in modernity, the form of Jacobinism had its own crisis and also began to change following the period of "postwar capitalist rationalization" evidenced by the "growth of bureaucratized centers of power, an institutionalized party system, urbanization, the diffusion of science, technology, education, and cultural secularism."[125]

While symbolic divisions between communism, social democracy, conservatism, religion etc., could still be clearly identified, the scope and intensity of these historically and deeply-entrenched ideological differences began to converge by the pressure of global markets, global politics and *grace à* media and technology, global culture. This historical postwar shift undermined much of the advantage gained by intellectuals in the days of early European and North American capitalism dividing the role, and sometimes fate, of Jacobin-like intellectuals as Boggs explains:

> With the historic shift from fragmented politics to convergent political cultures, the role of intellectuals too was significantly transformed. On the one hand Jacobin-like intellectual strata gave way to more expanded, strategically central sectors of intellectuals whose position, status, and interests are closely tied to the process of technological rationalization. On the other hand, intellectual functions have become more instrumentalized with their absorption into the institutional network of corporations, parties, interest groups, the educational system, and, of course, the state. Put differently, the modern intellectual has become, with proletarianization, more occupationally significant but less politically decisive in elite terms. Notable, "free-floating" intellectuals, and tutelary Jacobins have more or less disappeared form the political landscape. The Jacobin or mobilizing potential of elites celebrated within the tradition of political theory - from Machiavelli to Gramsci, from Hobbes to Lenin, from St. Simon to "elite" thinkers... would seem to be exhausted with [this] onset of modernity.[126]

At the apogee of industrial development and the increased "rationalization of social life" that accompanied it in the post-World War II era, the predominant intellectual was of the technocratic variety. As Boggs states, technocratic intellectuals served "to legitimate, in various ways, the smooth functioning of bureaucratic state capitalism and other forms of industrial society. They are

located primarily in the state bureaucracy, universities, corporations, the military, the media, and the culture industry."[127] At this high point of modernity, the predictable technocratic discourse was situated in "the educational system, mass media, the state, corporations, and so forth."[128] Rising up to challenge the technocrats, the "critical intelligentsia situated in higher education, the media, and the arts," were severely limited by their confinement to local spheres of influence and therefore lacked the pervasiveness and cohesion of the technocrats.[129] And Boggs states, it is the conflict between the technocratic and critical intellectuals, with their respective hegemonic and counterhegemonic worldviews, that "shapes the political and cultural terrain of advanced industrial society."[130] Leading up to his rationalization of new social movement theory, Boggs states that irreconcilable "ideological fissures in the power structure" which technocratic intellectuals have been unable to repair, has created new openings for "new subversive forms" in postindustrial society.

Since the 1960s modernity's rate of erosion has accelerated through various means. Boggs asserts that the crisis of modernity is epitomized in the 'ecological breakdown of urban industrial society':

> [It has emphasized] endless and uncontrolled economic growth, technological manipulation of nature, and the excesses of consumerism and resource depletion. Given its facile connection between human progress and production for profit, the ethos of modernity that stems from Enlightenment rationality will eventually, if it is not countered, lead to planetary disaster...[131]

Power however, remains generally intact within the structures of the state, corporate, and military, but "knowledge itself seems to have become more and

more dispersed, localized, and fragmented... "giving way to opposition and critique that is also dispersed and 'pluralistic'."[132] Thus, universities and media in this atomized context of knowledge become central stages for 'social and ideological conflict' constantly under pressure from the pressures of modern rationalization. Boggs clearly articulates the growing oppositional forms exploding in the 1960s:

> The idea that higher education constitutes an autonomous sphere where truth and knowledge can be dispassionately sought is now, more than ever, a myth owing in part to grandiose technocratic efforts to manage and restrict the flow of communication. With every technological and bureaucratic advance have come new forms of local resistance, mirrored first in the spread of popular movements and then in the diffusion of academic alternatives such as Critical Theory, radical political economy, poststructuralism, feminism, social ecology, and neo-Marxism.[133]

Postmodernism, Intellectuals and Social Change

With the steady erosion of modernity the shift to new forces of postmodernism, including popular movements, brings about a new landscape for intellectuals:

> New strains of critical social theory and local movements that accompany the postmodern shift (uneven as it may be) signifies an evolving new role for oppositional intellectuals. As a previously stable, orderly system of modernity gives way to dispersed and fragmented centers of discourse, critical intellectual work itself takes on a relatively localized, parochial definition even in the midst of globalizing economic and political forces...It is simultaneously a reaction against the global penetration of commodity production, of bureaucratic expansion, of mass society and the culture industry, into the deepest recesses of everyday life.[134]

Postmodernism rejects the reductionist argument of 'developmental logic' or 'the rational accounting of history' embedded in the prolific inventory of modernist theories in the twentieth century: Marxism, social democracy, Leninism, and liberalism. Identifying *any* politics with this new phase is difficult as it is "dispersed and tied more closely to the 'micropolitics' of new social movements (feminist, ecology, antiwar, urban protest, etc.) than to the familiar realm of large-scale organizations (parties, unions, interest groups, the state)."[135]

Many watchbearers of postmodernism compare the revolution of new ways of thinking in modernism that overturned much of the traditional thinking with the revolutionary and fundamental reconceptualization of ways of thinking in postmodernism. The role of intellectuals in social change and politics has not been spared in the postmodern revolution because whether by incorporation or refusal, "the vision of an all-powerful and unified radical intelligentsia that could make history is today obsolete."[136] On the other side of the ledger however, Boggs insists that with the explosion of new social movements in North America and Europe, the emergence of green politics in numerous countries, and 'grassroots dissidence' around the world, the landscape of opportunity and 'strategic role' for intellectuals committed to social transformation has greatly expanded. Critical thinking and discourse in postmodern times opposes the confined 'depoliticizing pressures of technocratic ideology' and creates a larger public sphere where politics can be collectively recovered. This recovery Boggs states, "requires a convergence of intellectual groupings (within and beyond the

universities) and social movements located on the periphery of mainstream institutions and culture."[137]

In this reconstructed and only partially realized partnership to develop critical social theory and counterhegemonic politics, intellectuals are increasingly prompted not only by movement ideology but also by movement culture and symbols in their indigenous locals. As Boggs states, this oppositional discourse is:

> [N]ourished by the theoretical force of ideas and symbols drawn from radical traditions such as anarchism, social ecology, and feminisms, as well as established paradigms such as liberalism and Marxism that carry forward elements of a democratic vision. The articulation of critical discourse demands a broadening of the public sphere within which the intellectual foundations of social change can be strengthened, where the multiple forms of domination can be identified so that, in Freire's language, the "cultural action for freedom" can be given life. A counterhegemonic politics implies that critical (and organic) intellectuals forge a "voice" of popular movements as these movements struggle for collective empowerment.[138]

This partnership faces an immediate challenge given the avalanche of "free market" doctrines following the recent Communist collapse. The ability of conterhegemonic theorists and movements to successfully challenge the dominant political culture Boggs suggests, is dependent on their capacity to build what Gramsci called a 'moral-intellectual' alternative with a clear critique of the present and a vision for the future. As Boggs says, "[t]he prospects of a single, unifying global framework can probably be ruled out", and with the disparate themes of contemporary movements in feminism, Marxism, neo-Marxism, radical political economy, ecological radicalism, sexual politics, and

international human rights to name a few, diverse critical social theories are more appropriate for a pluralistic postmodern world.[139] But rest assured he warns:

> Newly emergent forms of hegemony in the 1990s and beyond will surely be less confined than before by the dead weight of outmoded ideological paradigms, including liberalism and Marxism - both of which have legitimated privilege, bureaucratic rule, and class exploitation in the name of democracy and progress. Neither provides a theory of social change sensitive to contradictions around gender relations, ethnicity, ecology, bureaucracy, and culture of the sort taken up in the literature and practical activity of social movements. The outdated intellectual heritage of earlier theoretical debates - reform vs. revolution, party vs. movements, class location vs. class consciousness, democracy vs. totalitarianism - is reflected in their acute failure to grasp the historical meaning of these movements.[140]

Emancipatory Adult Education Theorizing and Issues of Success

Analyzing Boggs' work and Holford's work with some detail allows us to capture some of the potential insights of emancipatory AE in identifying analytical categories of social movement theory. There are considerable gaps, shortcomings and problems with Holford's perspective of the cognitive praxis theory, epistemologically and otherwise. However, given the virtually unexplored terrain that exists in developing an analytical framework from social movement theory for exploring AE, Holford's work should be recognized as a good initial effort. His work does point two key guidelines in improving the study of the education of adults.

While RMT seems to contain very little that directly manifests the role of AE in transforming society, there is sufficient promise within specific aspects of

its research methodology that bears further investigation. One of the main theoretical strengths of RMT is its ability to question how social movements emerge, strategize and, to some degree, function. More specifically, the evaluative works of Gamson (1975 and 1990), Piven and Cloward (1979) and Hall (1995) for example provide a model for a comparative analysis of social movement components which contribute to the understanding of social movement processes and in part, success. In their book, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*, Piven and Cloward lay out theoretically coherent and empirically researchable theses on what factors (independent variables) contribute to the success but more often failure of poor people's SMOs.[141] Similarly, Gamson analyzes twelve independent variables amongst a representative sample of 53 protest groups in the United States between 1800 - 1945 to determine protest group success.

In Hall's, *Poor People's Social Movement Organizations: the Goal Is to Win,* six independent variables were analyzed including: organizational size, percentage of external funding, how the SMO measured success, whether dues were required, how tactics were chosen and degree of networking with other SMOs.[142] The dependent variable was the type of collective action used be it; letter writing, building coalitions, changing local ordinances, lobbying local funding or government agencies, public demonstrations, sit-ins, civil disobedience and other (specified by participant). Using for example an emancipatory AE technique, training methodology or facilitator style as one of

several other independent variables (be they related to AE or otherwise) would provide some understanding of the processes of AE within social movements. There are also numerous leadership studies under RM and NSM theories which bear analytical categories appropriate and adaptable to the investigation of movement intellectuals.

With a comparative analysis of AE variables, we stand to gain valuable insights not only on the role of AE in social movements but on different factors within emancipatory AE itself. The dependent variable can address relevant concerns to social movement or directly to emancipatory adult education. Is it for example in the best interest of an inner city protest group to use a literacy program or a mentor-leader training approach to increase participation and/or build momentum for future collective action? While this type of study remains in the domain of social movement research, it can potentially be very instructive about emancipatory AE.

Time for Collaboration

There is a great deal to learn about education, emancipatory, adult or otherwise, directly from social movement research. To date however most research on education within social movement theory has consisted of analyzing the correlation between level of formal education and propensity to become politically active. Holford too easily dismisses the vast potential within the extensive study and experience completed under the RMT tradition. Along with a growing number of other voices, Canel (1994), Escobar and Alvarez (1990) have

argued, given the shortcomings and impasse of much social movement theory, that both traditions will be strengthened by combining their respective approaches and research experience. Eyerman and Jamison explain that their cognitive praxis approach successfully builds on one of the unseen common denominators:

> In spite of their apparent differences, what the contemporary approaches have in common is an interest in knowledge. For [RMT], the cognitive practices of social movements are seen in terms of shifting orientations and organizational profiles, issue clusters or sectoral problems. Knowledge is seen as an organizational attribute; it is the particular organization within a social movement that makes knowledge useful as an instrument for mobilization. Identity theorists are interested in consciousness and ideology; for them, movements are seen both as processes of collective identity formation and as social actors struggling to define history... As a result, the specific contributions of social movements to social processes of knowledge production - and the specific cognitive praxis of specific movements - receive little if any notice.[143]

The final word will be given to address one other collaborative possibility. Jack Mezirow's work on Transformational Theory is very refreshing to the beleaguered study of AE. As a critical and psychological theory of adult learning, it critiques and challenges the Western rational tradition, being a "set of assumptions upon which our major concepts of reality, learning, and education is based", as constituting an objectivist paradigm of learning.[144] The interpretive paradigm of adult learning in Transformational Theory is based upon:

> [A]n emancipatory paradigm, and constitutes a dialectical synthesis of objectivist and interpretive paradigms. Transformational Theory grounds its claims pertaining to learning in the distinction between instrumental and communicative learning, particularly the roles of critical reflection and discourse in human communication, and in

> the transformative potential of our interpretive frames of reference.[145]

Despite much criticism in the lively debate around Mezirow's theory, there exists within his 12 key propositions of his emancipatory paradigm numerous applications for empirical research within SMOs to better understand emancipatory AE and learning . His eleventh proposition for example states:

> Taking action on reflective insights often involves situational, emotional, and informational constraints that may also require new learning experiences. A transformative learning experience requires that the learner makes an informed and reflective *decision* to act. This decision may result in immediate action, delayed action caused by situational constraints or lack of information on how to act, or result in a resound reaffirmation of an existing pattern of action.[146]

The two main analytical categories in cognitive praxis theory are duly recognized in Transformational Theory. Mezirow like Eyerman and Jamison with their communication modes which form organizational knowledge, squarely rests his concept of communicative learning and discourse on Habermas' work on communicative action. The cognitive praxis approach would allow for operationalizing research of Mezirow's 'optimal conditions of discourse and learning'. The role of the movement intellectual, collaborative learner as Mezirow would call her, also has a central role in Mezirow's theory:

> The [optimal conditions of learning] provide the foundation in adult learning for both a philosophy of education and a political philosophy. The implementation of these ideal conditions within the context of [AE] implies a conscious effort by the educator to establish and enforce norms in the learning situations which neutralize or significantly reduce the influence of power, the win-lose dialogue, and the hegemony of instrumental rationality found elsewhere in society. Adult education is predicated upon creating

> free space for reflection and discourse and a reduction of the power differential between educator and learner.[147]

There does not appear to be a better place to study these crucial adult learning/education processes than in an emancipatory SMO.

Summary

Collaboration has been the dominant theme in this chapter. In summary, we can see in the: historical and nascent AE; social movement roots of AE in Western civilization and; more recent global renaissant developments, a strong commitment to a just and democratic society. This occurred through the labour movement originally and later through 'new' emancipatory movements. After World War Two, the original radical social purposes of AE were significantly diluted as technical, vocational and personal development forms of AE proliferated and eclipsed emancipatory AE. These market driven forms of AE were able to expand partly as a result of collapsing into the seemingly universal and intensifying global project of modernity. They also succeeded as a result of specific modern approaches to AE at the nation-state and international level.

Despite recent positive lifesigns of emancipatory AE, the dominant global condition of AE raises serious doubts of emancipatory AE's ability to effectively act on its goals. Research priorities need to be re-addressed. Because of the codependence and symbiosis reflected between emancipatory SMOs and emancipatory AE , emancipatory SMOs appear to be the ideal location to invest in research for AE.

The problem of how to research emancipatory adult education, something critical pedagogists have struggled with for too long, has been addressed more recently by several adult educationalists. Although Finger has over polarized the analysis of NSMs taking away from their more political, collective and radical function, Welton agrees with him that they are an exceptional site to study emancipatory AE. Holford finds that in Eyerman and Jamison's cognitive praxis social movement theory, the organizational dimension and movement intellectuals to be two key analytical categories that should be empirically investigated in NSMs. The rubric of their theory essentially states that social movements are central in the social process of knowledge production. Discussions from both Gramsci and Boggs would strongly suggest that investigating movement intellectuals holds great promise. There also remains considerable research promise in RM theory or in a collaboration with Mezirow's Transformation Theory for example. We turn finally to the task of proposing some remaining questions in light of the increasingly difficult challenge confronting the beleaguered emancipatory project.

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[1] Carnoy as quoted in Torres, 1990: p. ix
[2] as quoted from the Australian Adult Education Journal
[3] London, Tarr and Wilson as quoted in Zacharakis-Jutz and Schied, 1993: p. 101.
[4] R. H. Tawney as quoted in Lovett, 1989: p. 42.
[5] Lovett, 1989: p. 42.
[6] Lovett, 1989 and Davis, 1971.
[7] Lovett, 1989 : p. 43
[8] Ibid. pp. 43-4
[9] Henry de Man as quoted by Altenbaugh, 1990: p. 19.
[10] Altenbaugh as quoted by Zacharakis-Jutz and Schied, 1993: p. 103.
[11] Ibid. p. 104.
[12] Kombluh, p. 13 as quoted by Zacharakis-Jutz, Ibid. p. 105.
[13] Kombluh, Ibid.
[14] Kombluh, Ibid. p. 47
[15] Kombluh, Ibid.

[16] Glen, 1988: p. 4 and Lovett, 1989: p. 44.
[17] Glen, 1988: p. 2
[18] Glen, Ibid.
[19] Glen, 1988: p. 4
[20] Ibid. p. 2
[21] Ibid. pp. 153-59
[22] Hall, 1995: p. 47
[23] Glen, Ibid. p. 154
[24] Horton as quoted in Heaney, 1992: p. 55
[25] Heaney, Ibid.
[26] Heaney, Ibid. p. 54. Italics not original.
[27] Ibid. p. 57
[28] Ibid.
[29] Horton, p. 27 as quoted in Heaney, Ibid.
[30] Lovett, 1989: p. 44
[31] Horton, p. 28 as quoted in Heaney, 1992. p.57
[32] Heaney, Ibid.
[33] Adams, F. as quoted in Glen, 1988: p. 1
[34] Lovett, 1989: p.44
[35] Ibid. p. 45
[36] Ibid.
[37] Offe, 1985: p. 821 as quoted in Welton, 1993: p. 153
[38] Welton, 1993: p. 154 is closely following Offe's work, "*New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics,*" 1985
[39] Welton, Ibid.
[40] Arato and Cohen, 1984: p. 268 as quoted in Welton, Ibid.
[41] Holford, 1995: p.96
[42] Slowey, 1989: p. 88 [A fascinating study still exists in exploring the social movement origins of adult education in Southern countries/regions where recorded histories are available.]
[43] Pannu, 1989: p. 236
[44] Woodley et al, 1987 as quoted in Slowey, 1989: p. 89
[45] One indicator of the state's increasing role in adult education is comparing the roll call at UNESCO's adult education conferences. Beginning with the Elsinore Conference in 1949 there were only 79 delegates and observers from 25 (mainly) Western countries. In contrast, the Paris Conference in 1985 drew 841 participants from 122 member states including 40 government ministers (or representatives of equivalent rank).
[46] Pannu, 1988: p. 235
[47] Slowey, 1989: p. 89
[48] Welton, 1987: pp. 29-30 as quoted in Pannu, 1988: p. 235
[49] Ghosh, 1991: p. vi
[50] UNESCO
[51] Ghosh, 1991: p. vi
[52] Slowey, 1989: p. 89
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid. p. 90
[56] It is a recent and modest debate among adult educationalists employing NSM theory to determine how much impact the student, peace, environmental and similar movements had at this stage in promoting this renaissance or "purification" of AE. See B. Allan Quigley (1991) for example. As it relates to the environmental movement many sources quote the 1964 publication *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson as the inception of the present environmental movement. However, it was not until the late 70s that many of the environmental movements were formally and effectively organized demanding either unprecedented concessions from the state or they were positioning themselves as elected representatives to replace "anthropomorphic governments" such as the case with the Green Party in Germany.

[57] Burns, 1990: p. 187
[58] Ibid. p. xi
[59] Greig et al, 1987: p. 23
[60] Gault, 1984
[61] CCIC, 1982
[62] Hicks,1988: p. 6
[63] Ibid. p. 8
[64] Galtung, (1976) as quoted by Hicks, Ibid.: pp. 6-7
[65] Finger, 1989: p.20
[66] However, it is no surprise that only in the North would emancipatory adult educators speak of forming a professional association to fully realize emancipatory AE's goals without considering what emancipatory SMO or government to which they will attach themselves. There is a possibility that they can intentionally foment a social movement that will shoot forth emancipatory SMOs or nurture a emancipatory SMO themselves. But a professional association would probably never gain the stature necessary to invoke the changes or enter negotiations with the state.
[67] But while emancipatory AE is dependent upon emancipatory SMOs to meet its purposes, emancipatory SMOs may or may not choose to use emancipatory AE as a strategy to achieve its goals.
[68] By trying to study emancipatory AE using social movement theory it should not be assumed that the latter is theoretically superior or more accomplished than the former. That interpretation has hopefully been dispelled through the presentation and critique of the incomplete social movement theory project. Both are in disarray. Furthermore, the radical roots and early practice of adult education speak to a comparable transformational and emancipatory tradition as social movements. However, it will be assumed that emancipatory AE is beholden, directly dependent, on the initiative and momentum of like-minded social movements and their organizations to meet its purposes.
[69] Holford, 1995: p. 95
[70] Finger, 1989: p. 16
[71] Ibid. p. 15
[72] Ibid.
[73] Oelkers, 1983: p. 83 as quoted in Finger Ibid. p. 18
[74] Finger, 1989: p. 18. Evidence of this perspective is (still) not hard to find as seen in official statements of such institutions as UNESCO(1985): [AE] is seen both as an instrument for solving problems of development and as an instrument for involving individuals in economic, social and cultural life. Because many of the problems are related to scientific and technological matters, [AE] curriculum makers need especially to work on the popularization of basic scientific knowledge and ideas (as quoted in Finger, Ibid. p. 19).
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid. p. 18
[77] Lasch, 1984 as quoted in Finger, Ibid.
[78] Finger, 1989: p. 19
[79] Ibid. p. 18
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Finger, Ibid. quotes Holzapfel, 1982
[83] Finger, Ibid. p. 21 quotes Jarvis, 1987; Kolb, 1984; Schon, 1983
[84] Finger, Ibid. quotes Gronmeyer, 1979 Ibid.
[85] Finger, Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Welton, 1993: pp. 155-6
[88] Welton, 1993: p. 155
[89] Ibid. p. 153
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid. p. 159

[92] Holford, 1995: p. 95
[93] Ibid. p. 96
[94] Ibid. p. 99
[95] Cohen as quoted by Holford, 1995;Ibid.
[96] Holford, 1995: p.100
[97] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: pp. 48-9 as quoted in Holford, 1995: p. 101
[98] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991; p. 161
[99] Ibid. p. 165
[100] Ibid. p. 55 as quoted in Holford, 1995: p. 101
[101] Holford, Ibid. p. 101
[102] Ibid.
[103] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p. 57 as quoted in Holford, Ibid.
[104] Holford, Ibid. p. 101
[105] McLaren, 1988: p. 171 as quoted by Holford, Ibid. p. 102
[106] Holford, 1995: Ibid.
[107] Habermas, 1972 as quoted in Holford, Ibid.
[108] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p.68-69 as quoted in Holford, 1995: p. 171
[109] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p. 69 as quoted in Holford, 1995: p. 171
[110] Holford, 1995: p. 103
[111] Gramsci, 1971: p. 334 as quoted in Holford, 1995: p.103
[112] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p. 98
[113] Ibid. . 108
[114] Holford, 1995: p. 103
[115] Giroux, 1993: p. 78 as quoted in Holford, Ibid.
[116] Holford, 1995: p. 104
[117] Ibid.
[118] Holford observes at this point that AE starts to branch off into other disciplines such as social history and cultural studies where authors such as Thompson (1963), Williams (1961) in Britain, and the Subaltern Studies school in India (Guha, 1989) have shown how culture and knowledge can be shaped by social movements.
[119] Holford, 1995: p. 105
[120] Ibid. p. 106
[121] O'Sullivan, 1993: p. 19 in Holford, 1995: p. 106
[122] Holford, 1995: p. 106
[123] Ibid.
[124] Boggs, 1993: p. 9
[125] Boggs, 1993: p. 64
[126] Ibid. p. 73
[127] Ibid. p. 3
[128] Ibid. p. 9
[129] Ibid. p. 3
[130] Ibid. p. 4
[131] Ibid. p. 5
[132] Ibid. p. 5
[133] Ibid. p. 4
[134] Ibid pp. 4-5
[135] Ibid. p. 5
[136] Ibid. p. 6
[137] Ibid. p. 6
[138] Ibid. p. 7
[139] Ibid. p. 8
[140] Ibid. p. 9
[141] Piven and Cloward, 1977
[142] Hall, 1995: p. 35-36
[143] Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: p. 161

[144] Mezirow, 1996: p. 158
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid. pp. 163-4 Original italics.
[147] Ibid. p. 171

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

> We have frequently printed the word Democracy. Yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawakened, not withstanding the resonance and the many angry tempests out of which its syllables have come, from pen or tongue. It is a great work, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted.
>
> Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*

> Opposing capitalism locally, from households, communities, cities, all the way up to the level of the nation state has always been practically difficult but, at least, organizationally and ideologically manageable. In most capitalist societies, social movements for what has come to be known as social democracy, have united those who are hostile to capitalism and those who simply want to ensure that capitalism works with more social efficiency that the so-called 'free market' allows... The implication of the foregoing argument is that the transition from social democracy to democratic socialism is one that can only be achieved through social movements that target global capitalism...
>
> Leslie Sklair in "*Social Movements and Global Capitalism*"[1]

State of the World

More than anything, this chapter is meant to emphasize the urgency of emancipatory adult education (AE) and emancipatory social movements to collaborate and hasten to the task at hand. Michael Welton states that as a result of the dominant ideologies and prevailing economic and political organization, people are mobilizing in new ways. The ranks of new social movements (NSMs) are responding to feeling threatened in three interrelated

areas: they feel their lifeworld, the physiospatial world and their personal and collective identity are all at risk.[2]

The threat to the lifeworld refers to the continued degradation of the ecological world that sustains all natural, social and cultural life. It would be redundant and disheartening to review the litany of global ecological damage that has transpired up to 1997. "Within the ecological movement" Welton observes, "actors are searching for a new identity for themselves and humankind. They are trying to "unlearn an older form of identity" inherited from the Enlightenment: an anthropocentric conception of humankind's relationship to nature and each other".[3] That 'older identity' many are convinced, is globally fatal.

Threats to the physiospatial world have risen recently from unfulfilled promises by optimistic political forces that fears of violence would dissolve with the Soviet Union. The peace movement heightened awareness about the protracted sources and schemes of bi-polar militarism and violence since the start of the Cold War. Now however, we are uncertain knowing who to blame, how it started, who's responsible, and where its going next? We must now resist more obsequious, unpredictable, and decentralized forces. The Gulf War, the Los Angeles riots, former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Burundi, missing Ukrainian nuclear warheads and Canadian "peacekeepers" have served to inform people that violence is now only much more difficult to understand.

Finally, the war against the inferiorization of one class of human beings over another is being fought in previously unheard-of trenches, often inside homes. 'The state and corporate steering mechanisms' intrude into all social relations and people begin to draw a line of defence around the remaining rights still intact and attached to personal and collective identities.

New Lines of Resistance to Global Challenges

'The whole world is on fire. If adult education is not on fire, what is it?'

People everywhere are feeling threatened - in their person, in their physiospatial world, in their lifespace. Personal and global insecurity appear to be the plagues for this post-modern, post-industrial season. People want help, they want to know how to resist: Where and how are spaces of resistance created? Who or what is to be resisted? Who or what is the foe? Is the task to be left in the hands of what remains of the civil society? Is the task left to local and internationally linked SMOs? Are there any nation-states, governments, political parties and business which will be partners?

More specifically, how do emancipatory adult educators most strategically assume their role in emancipatory social movements? How do emancipatory adult educators and social movements play a more significant if not major role in creating resistance and alternatives? How deeply are emancipatory adult educators prepared to get involved? On which areas of research and practice will AE focus? Which ideologies will guide them? How do adult educators resist

the power struggles and factionalizing that reduces their effectiveness in reaching their goals?

Emancipatory adult educators and social movements need to be very aware of the unique nature of the challenges facing them at the turn of the millennium. Sklair clearly delineates what those challenges are: "contemporary problems cannot be adequately studied [and understood] at the level of nation states, that is, in terms of *international* relations, but need to be theorized in terms of *global (transnational)* processes, beyond the level of the nation state."[4] Using this distinction to conceptualize globalization, Sklair warns that "it is increasingly important to analyze the world economy and society *globally* as well as nationally."[5] All of us are living with the threat of being overwhelmed by the distant origins and nature of our problems.

Sklair's global system theory maintains that transnational practices "cross state boundaries but do not necessarily originate with state agencies or actors."[6] These transnational practices operate in the *economic sphere* through the transnational corporation (TNC); a still evolving transnational capitalist class in the *political sphere* and; a culture-ideology of consumerism in *cultural/ideological sphere*. The transnational capitalist class can be conceptualized in four parts:

(i) TNC executives and their local affiliates;
(ii) globalizing state bureaucrats;
(iii) capitalist-inspired politicians and professionals;
(iv) consumerist elites (merchants, media).[7]

Sklair explains the dynamics within all three spheres:

> In the economic sphere, the global capitalist system offers a limited place to the wage earning masses in most countries... [I]n

> the political sphere... [t]o put it bluntly, the global capitalist system has very little need of the subordinate classes in this sphere. In parliamentary democracies the parties must be able to mobilize the masses to vote every so often, but in most countries voting is not compulsory and mass political participation is usually discouraged.
>
> The culture-ideology sphere is, however, entirely different. Here, the aim of global capitalists is total inclusion of all classes, and especially the subordinate classes. The cultural-ideological project of global capitalism is to persuade people to consume above their 'biological needs' in order to perpetuate the accumulation of capital for private profit... The culture-ideology of consumerism proclaims, literally, that the meaning of life is to be found in the things we posses.[8]

Pro-capitalist global system institutions, agencies and movements supporting the TNCs, the transnational class, and global consumerism at the global and local level are enjoying unprecedented success. Those emancipation movements challenging the TNCs in the economic sphere; opposing the transnational capitalist class and its local affiliates in the political sphere and; promoting "cultures and ideologies antagonistic to capitalist consumerism" have been "singularly unsuccessful globally."[9] While there have been some emancipatory movements, coalitions, political parties and governments that have at least slowed down the capitalist class at the national level, none have confronted the sources of the globalizing dominant culture at the global level with a measurable degree of effectiveness. Now that Stalinist communism has been discredited, and though he emphasizes that "any attack on capitalist consumerism is an attack [on] the very center of global capitalism", Sklair states the only movements that present a threat to global capitalist consumerism, and

then only at a national level, are from a religious (particularly Islamic) fundamentalist or environmental orientation.

Globalizing Disruptions

The burden of Sklair's argument is that: "while capitalism increasingly organizes globally, the resistance to global capitalism can only be effective where [emancipatory adult educators and social movements] can disrupt its smooth running (accumulation of private profits) locally and can find ways of globalising these disruptions."[10] "No social movement" he states, "appears even remotely likely to overthrow the three fundamental institutional supports of global capitalism... Nevertheless, in each of these three spheres there are resistances expressed by social movements."[11] Given that the "issue of democracy is central to the practice and the prospects of social movements against capitalism, local and global," Sklair concludes where he began:

> [T]o be effective social movements against global capitalism will need to find new forms that do not reproduce the failures of Piven and Clowards' 'poor people's movements' but rather reproduce their successes. This will mean disrupting capitalism locally and finding new ways of globalizing these disruptions, while seizing the opportunities to transform it that democracy provides.[12]

Collaboration

The burden of my argument is that if there is to be hope coming from AE to create spaces of resistance against the dominant pattern of globalization, then emancipatory adult educators will have to work more closely with members of emancipatory social movements. To create alternatives to, and resist constant reincarnations of, threats to our lifeworld, physiospatial world and

personal/collective identities, emancipatory adult educators need to actively participate in local, national and international emancipatory social movement organizations (SMOs). Local disruptions need to become global disruptions but it will require better and more coalitions, alliances and mobilization.

But emancipatory adult educators need to be cautious of the power struggles and factionalizing endemic to social movements which greatly draws them away from reaching the shared goals. Formal emancipatory adult educators need to work closely with non-formal emancipatory adult educators, indigenous educators need to cooperate with non-indigenous educators, etceteras. Emancipatory social movements are far from ideal in their means and goals and are often rife with contradictions. Still, more than the state, more than institutions (educational or otherwise), more than any other social agency or actor, emancipatory social movements and their SMOs remain the best means, for anyone wanting to participate, to resist present exploitative relations. As Sztompka has said, 'social movements are examples of social change, of social transformation *par excellence*'.

Confronting and transforming exploitative social relations through the collective participation of civil people in society are fundamental goals and values of emancipatory AE. The core values and principles of emancipatory AE includes justice, peace, democracy, compassion, dialogue, spirituality, and caring for life, must guide emancipatory adult educators praxis in means and

ends. As contested and questioned these values are by many, they will prove to be the strength of these movements and educators.

But it must be recognized that emancipatory AE has no will of its own. It requires the constituent actors to take the necessary actions to promote social transformation. Both adult educators and SMO members need to act and to act collectively - in this case adult educators' collective efforts should be linked to the collective efforts of SMO participants, of "other" SMO members like themselves.

In the past, emancipatory adult educators have been active in SMOs sometimes surfacing as "intellectuals" of the intelligentsia, sometimes as organic or movement intellectuals, and sometimes as indispensable rank and file members. Adult education theorists in the past however have not been active *enough* in SMOs as researchers and social scientists. It should not be the case as has been stated, that 'although many adult educators have worked closely with social movements, only rarely has this been reflected at the level of theory' and subsequently, one could add, at the level of empirical research. That social change theories and social movement theories waited till the 1960s before inquiring if there was anything to be learned about the causal links between social movements and social transformation is unthinkable for AE theory and social movement theory. The future of social movement theory and AE theory must collaborate now to discover what can be learned about their causal links in transforming and liberating society.

What needs to be researched is AE in the context of social movements. Given the social purposes of emancipatory AE, not to mention the shortcomings of AE theory and critical pedagogy theory to date, AE research can stand to gain significantly greater understanding of especially AE by doing at least two things different. First, simply conducting more AE research (than in the past) at the site of SMOs will provide greater understanding of: adult learning; the education of adults; little known processes of emancipatory SMO AE and; the unique and symbiotic nature of the SMO and AE's relationship. Using the theoretical framework available through the cognitive praxis social movement theory for example, should increase our understanding about AE.

Secondly, adult educators concerned about transforming society need to mobilize locally and immediately; organize broadly; and act locally, regionally and globally. The task ahead is primarily one of collaboration. Collaboration among those in civil society, collaboration among adult educators and SMOs, and collaboration among social movement theorists and emancipatory adult education theorists.

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[1] Sklair, 1995: p. 495
[2] Welton, 1993: p. 158
[3] Ibid. p. 157
[4] Sklair, 1995: p. 499
[5] Ibid. Original italics.
[6] Ibid. p. 500
[7] Ibid. p. 502
[8] Ibid. p. 500
[9] Ibid. pp. 500-1
[10] Ibid. p. 507
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid p. 508

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